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CHARLOTTE ROUECHÉ – SUSAN M. SHERWIN-WHITE

Some Aspects of the Seleucid Empire: the Greek
Inscriptions from Failaka, in the Arabian Gulf

The material presented in this article was found on the small island – measuring some 11.5 km. by 5 km. – now known as Failaka, which lies about 13 km. off the coast of Kuwait, at the northern end of the Arabian Gulf. The first Greek find from Failaka was an early hellenistic inscription (no. 1) which was found by chance in the 1930's, during ploughing on a low hill called locally Tell Khazneh («The Hoard»), in the south-west corner of the island. This find was important and exciting support for the Greek historical tradition of Greek exploration of the coast and offshore islands of the Gulf initiated by Alexander the Great.

From 1958 to 1963 a Danish archaeological team devoted five campaigns to the excavation of a mound (F 5) and a block of buildings (F 4), a short way south of Tell Khazneh. Preliminary reports of the excavation and finds have been published in *Kuml*, the journal of the Archaeological Society of Jutland (*Kuml* 1958, 172–200; 1960, 153–207; 1979, 219–236). Of the volumes of the final publication of the Danish excavations those on the terracotta figurines and the hellenistic pottery were published in 1982 and 1983 (n. 22); further volumes on the hellenistic material, and on the prehistoric finds, are in progress (for the latter see P. KJAERUM, *Failaka/Dilmun I.1: The stamp and cylinder seals*, Aarhus 1983). These excavations discovered a small fortified settlement, with two Greek temples, at F 5, and a complex of extra-mural buildings, including a terracotta workshop, at F 4; their discoveries are of almost inestimable value for the history of the eastern hellenistic world, since very few hellenistic sites have been chosen for controlled excavations. The Greek dedicatory inscription (no. 2) and the Seleucid text (no. 3) were discovered at F 5 in 1959, in the course of the Danish excavations.

In 1983 a joint French and Kuwaiti archaeological team, under the direction of Dr. J.-F. SALLES, held excavations on the island, in the same area, and found a new hellenistic sanctuary (B 6), *extra muros*, by the present coastline. This team also cleaned, and in 1984 conducted excavations, at Tell Khazneh, the findspot of the first inscription, where in 1976 an Italian team, from the University of Venice, had dug trenches and found material dating from the fifth century BC to the hellenistic period. The results of these excavations were presented by Dr. SALLES in papers at the Seminar for Arabian Studies in London in 1983 (now published in *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 14, 1984, pp. 9–20), and in Cambridge in July

1984 (see n. 2). The final report of the excavation of B 6, *Fouilles Françaises à Failaka* 1983, edited by J.-F. SALLES (Collection Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient, Lyon) is now published (1984). We are extremely grateful to Dr. SALLES for generous and valuable discussion of the new finds.

The site at Tell Khazneh is another sanctuary site; it provides an important missing link in the history of the island because, unlike the other sanctuaries at F 5 and B 6, it was occupied in the Neo-Babylonian and/or Achaemenid period, thus confirming the historical tradition of a pre-Greek sanctuary on the island (see below, p. 31). During the hellenistic period the sanctuary continued in occupation until approximately the end of the second century BC; it was, therefore, in existence for the first of the two main phases into which occupation of F 5 is at present divided (from the early or middle third century to about the end of the second century BC). Both Tell Khazneh and F 5 were reoccupied in or around the first century BC. The original building of the sanctuaries at B 6 and the settlement F 5 are thought by SALLES to be approximately contemporary; but B 6 may have been abandoned earlier than F 5, perhaps in the middle of the second century, since no find from it needs to be dated later than the reign of Antiochus IV. Thus for at least a century (and perhaps more) within the third to second centuries BC, as many as three hellenistic sanctuary sites, and one secular complex of buildings (F 4) existed on the island. All these sites are small; but there is no reason to believe that they represent the sum total of sites of this period on the island. No hellenistic cemetery has yet been found or excavated on Failaka.

The task of identifying and sorting out relationships between the sanctuaries and the communities attached to them will be a complex matter, and cannot be completed until all the hellenistic sites have been fully published. Our article will, we hope, contribute to this task by republishing, besides the dedicatory inscriptions (nos. 1 and 2) the single most important Greek inscription from Failaka, the long and difficult Seleucid dossier (no. 3). Our collaboration arises from a happy coincidence: C. ROUECHÉ's opportunity to study the inscriptions from Failaka during several year's residence in Kuwait, and S. M. SHERWIN-WHITE's independent preparation of a study on the Seleucid empire in the east. We are most grateful to the Ministry of Information in Kuwait and to the authorities at the Kuwait National Museum – in particular, to Mr. JAWAD AL NAJJAR, and Mr. IMRAN ABDO – for their courteous and friendly co-operation.



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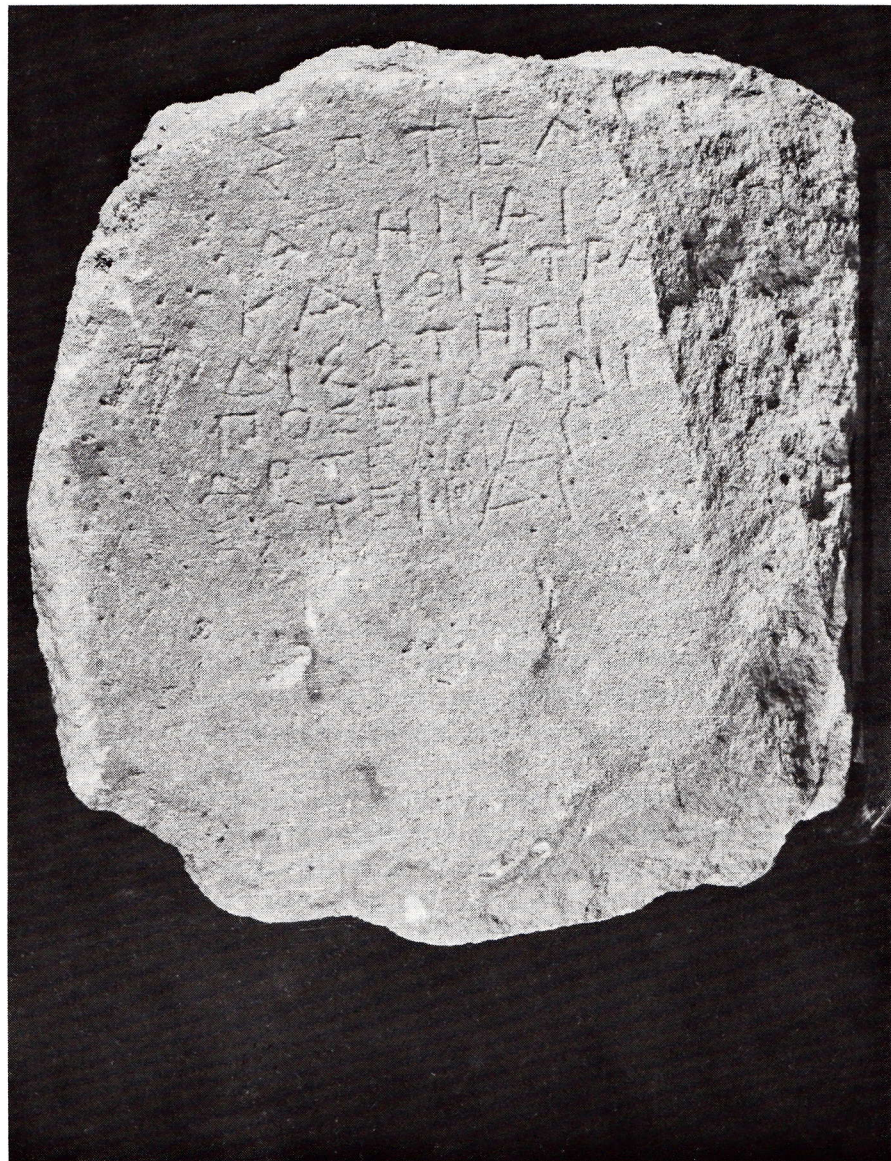


Plate 1

IKAROS: THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

1. Dedication by Soteles and soldiers

A limestone block, broken below and above. The lower part of the original left side and right side are preserved. H. 0.45; W. 0.40–0.41; Th. 0.20. Letters: 0.018.

The inscription was found in the 1930's on Failaka, during ploughing at a site called Tell Khazneh, north of the mound called Sa'aid which is the site of the hellenistic settlement F 5.¹ This site was explored by the Italian expedition in 1976, and excavated by the French and Kuwaiti expedition in 1984; the finds so far show that this too was a pre-Islamic site.² The inscription is now in the Kuwait National Museum. Plate 1.

The text was published by M. N. TOD, from a photograph provided by FREYA STARK (see note 1), JHS 63 (1943) 112–113, fig. 1, whence SEG 12. 556, Bull. Ep. 1944. 190; cf. also E. ALBRECHTSEN, Kuml (1958) 185 fig. 13; C. PICARD, RA (1961) 60–5; F. ALTHEIM and R. STIEHL, Klio 46 (1965) 274; Bull. Ep. 1967.651; G. M. COHEN, The Seleucid Colonies (Historia Einzelschriften 30, 1978) 43.

Σωτέλ[ης]
 Ἀθηναῖο[υ] (or Ἀθηναῖο[ς])
 καὶ οἱ στρα[τιῶται]
 Δι Σωτῆρι
 5 Ποσειδῶνι
 Ἀρτέμιδι
 Σωτεῖραι

Translation:

Soteles/the son of Athenaios (or Soteles/Athenaios, or Soteles/the Athenian)/and the soldiers/to Zeus Soter,/Poseidon,/Artemis/Soteira.

Script

The inscription is not well cut. The size and shape of individual letters varies and alignment is irregular. The poor and unprofessional character of the lettering

¹ For the find see M. TOD, *o. c.* 112, citing FREYA STARK, who was told about the find on a visit to Failaka, and forwarded to TOD a photograph of the stone. For a description of the site see F. STARK, *Baghdad Sketches* (London 1937) 205; for the location see ALBRECHTSEN, Kuml 1958, 185. FREYA STARK's visit to Failaka was in March 1937, as is indicated by a letter written afterwards from Kuwait, and dated to March 20, about the island: F. STARK, *Letters vol. III* (London 1976) 76–78.

² See Introduction, above. The results of the 1984 excavations at Tell Khazneh are to appear in the *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, volume 15, to be published in 1985.

makes the inscription difficult to read. For example, the sprawling sigma in the first line of the tribute list after 445 BC, though it is a fourth century BC date. *Alpha* and *beta* are agonal intersecting at or near the top and therefore affords only the first letter. Proximally, the fourth c

Epigraphic commentary

l.1. Σωτέλ[ης] is an alternate form of Σωτήρ. l.2. Ἀθηναῖο[υ] is suggested by reading the patronymic as a dative of the military commander and not as a genitive by personal name without a genitive. It has previously been recognized that there is room to supply the name of the dedication by an Attalid king. l.3. ὑπ' αὐτοῦς ἡγεμόνες / καὶ ἄλλοι ABSA 66 [1971] 1–12, pl. 1. cation from Samothrace. Φίλιππος / Ἀλέξανδρος [1968] 222, pl. 66b). Sold by the old Greek cities – including the cities of l.3. στρα[τιῶται] is the regular form of στρα[τευόμενοι] or στρα[τιῶται] to be rejected, with TOD's reading of στρα[τιῶται] as a military commander and genitive. The word which was not noted by TOD is approximately four letters in the

³ Cf. TOD, *ib.* : «I can only read the latter part of the fourth, or the fifth century Athenian sigma at fifth century Athenian (Toronto 1978) 36 and 39.

⁴ e.g. OGIS 229. 103 ff. (Eumenes I of Pergamum); S. LAUNY, *Recherches sur les Armées* (Paris 1969) 112–113.

⁵ See LAUNY, *Recherches sur les Armées* and *Recherches II*, 1125–1126. The domains which includes our Soteles (SEG 1969) 330–31: a group of Attalids, to whose founder, Antiochus of Damascus, F.Gr.Hist. 854 F

makes the inscription difficult to date, as Tod pointed out (*o.c.* 113). While, for example, the sprawling *sigma* of line 1 would not be out of place in an Athenian tribute list after 445 BC, the neater *sigma* of line 4 would fit a fourth or early third century BC date. *Alpha* alone seems to have a consistent shape, with right hand diagonal intersecting at or near the end of the crossbar. The criterion of letter forms therefore affords only the most general date for this particular stone, between, approximately, the fourth century and the early third century BC.³

Epigraphic commentary

l.1. Σωτελ[ίδης] is an alternative possibility, as Tod noted.

l.2. Ἀθηναίο[υ] is suggested in Bull.Ep. 1967.651. It is difficult to decide between reading the patronymic or the ethnic. In hellenistic dedications offered jointly by military commander and military units the commander is often designated simply by personal name without patronymic or ethnic.⁴ A third possibility which has not previously been recognised is that the names of two military leaders are given. There is room to supply καί, or we can assume asyndeton, as for example, in the dedication by an Attalid garrison from Aegina: Σατυρῖνος Καλλίμαχος / καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῦς ἡγεμόνες / καὶ στρατιῶται (Eph.Arch. [1913] 90–2, pl. 8; R. E. ALLEN, ABSA 66 [1971] 1–12, pl. 2: reign of Attalus I); compare the early hellenistic dedication from Samothrace of Philip III and Alexander IV of Macedon: βασιλεῖς Φίλιππος / Ἀ[λέξανδρ]ο/ς θεοῖς μεγ[ά]λοις (J. R. McCREDIE, Hesperia 37 [1968] 222, pl. 66b). Soldiers and colonists in the hellenistic east came from many old Greek cities – including, of course, Athens.⁵

l.3. στρα[τιῶται] is the reading preferred by all editors; other possibilities include στρα[τευόμενοι] or στρα[τευσάμενοι], cf. Tod 112 n. 1. Στρα[τηγοί] is probably to be rejected, with Tod, in favour of the well paralleled joint dedication by military commander and group of soldiers. There is one problem to this solution, which was not noted by previous commentators; there is only room for approximately four letters in the remaining space in this line. This indicates that the longer

³ Cf. Tod, *ib.*: «I can only say that the writing gives me the impression of belonging to the latter part of the fourth, or the opening years of the third century.» For the shape of four-bar *sigma* at fifth century Athens see M. WALBANK, Athenian Proxenes of the Fifth Century BC (Toronto 1978) 36 and 39.

⁴ e.g. OGIS 229. 103 ff. (c. 246 BC); SEG 7.4 (III/II BC; Susa); OGIS 266.19 ff. (reign of Eumenes I of Pergamum); SB 1104 (reign of Ptolemy II). For a useful conspectus see M. LAUNEY, Recherches sur les Armées hellénistiques II (Paris 1950) 1005–1018.

⁵ See LAUNEY, Recherches I (Paris 1949) 145–151, 428–433, on Athenian mercenaries, and Recherches II, 1125–1127 for a list of Athenians in military service in hellenistic kingdoms which includes our Soteles. See also L. ROBERT, Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée (Paris 1969) 330–31: a group of Athenians were moved by Seleucus I to (Syrian) Antioch from Antigoneia, to whose founder, Antigonos I, Athens had sent a body of colonists; cf. Pausanias of Damascus, F.Gr.Hist. 854 F 10 (6).

alternatives should be rejected in favour of στρα[τιῶται], the shortest of the likely terms. We must then assume that the (amateurish) cutter, underestimating the amount of space needed, crowded together the last letters of the line. He would have had to fit only six letters into the space of four, of which two were *iotas*, and therefore comparatively easy to accommodate.

ll. 4–9: The dedication is made, in a standard form, jointly to three gods. Zeus, the chief Greek god, is here given the familiar title *soter*, «saviour». Poseidon, the god of the sea, is an obvious deity to honour after a voyage. Artemis, the third deity, is most probably chosen because on Ikaros, as Arrian relates (*Anabasis* 7.20.3–4) there was a sanctuary sacred to a goddess whom the Greeks identified with the Greek goddess Artemis. The inclusion of the epithets *soter* (for Zeus) and *soteira* (for Artemis) might indicate that the dedication celebrated the safe arrival of the dedicators (as TOD suggested, 112); but it is notable that these two epithets continued to be used of two deities at the settlement F 5 (see text 3, ll.10 and 22, and historical commentary, p. 32).

Historical Commentary

The dedication could derive either from some Greek military expedition in the Arabian Gulf, or from a garrison on the island. These are the two interpretations which the content and the form of the dedication suggest.

1. Military expeditions in the Arabian Gulf.

Military expeditions under Greek commanders in the Arabian Gulf, calling at Ikaros, are rare in recorded history. It is therefore not surprising that scholars have tentatively connected the dedication with Alexander the Great. Two different episodes have been cited.

M. N. TOD (*o.c.* 113) was inclined to link the occasion with Nearchus' expedition (325–324) from the lower Indus to the head of the Arabian Gulf, observing in particular the sacrifices offered for the safety of the fleet by Alexander to Zeus Soter and Poseidon, and by Nearchus for his escape from danger to Zeus Soter (among other deities).⁶ But Nearchus' expedition should be ruled out, because the westernmost point⁷ which he reached at the head of the Gulf, coasting up from Carmania, was Babylonian Diridotis, where the coast, after turning west, met the mouth of the Euphrates (Arrian, *Indica* 41.6; *cf.* Strabo 16.3.2).

The expeditions sent by Alexander to explore the Arabian coast of the Gulf are more promising.⁸ Alexander dispatched three small expeditions in the winter of 324/3, as a preliminary to a major expedition under preparation in Babylon. The

⁶ For Alexander see Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.19.5 and *Indica* 36.3; for Nearchus, *Indica* 36.9.

⁷ F. STARK, *Baghdad Sketches*, 197–198.

⁸ Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.19.3–20, *Indica* 43.8; Strabo 16.11.2.

first expedition consisted of three ships, who sailed as far as Telos and Ikaros (Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.20.1). Soli were later sent, each with a ship, down the Arabian coast to the Persian garrison, who is following the coast and offshore islands as far as Phoenicia.¹⁰ Since Alexander's incense and spice trade with the Phoenician cities, were not far from it.¹¹

It is in this context of Alexander's exploration of the mouth of the Euphrates that we must place his explorers. The first, as Arrian relates, which, as Aristobulus says, was an Aegean island (*Anabasis* 7.20.1) confirmed by the discovery of the island is, Bahrain. Arrian's account of the commanders of these expeditions, who clearly did not know the Arabian coast, Alexander's Arabian expedition sent from Babylon in order to explore the Red Sea (the Arabian Gulf) when men inspected certain islands and the mainland of Arabia.¹² The ages of exploration, and the expedition which Alexander

⁹ See H. BERVE, *Das Alexander-Versteck*, nos. 162 (Archias), 80 (Andromachos).

¹⁰ Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.20.1. See also *Lost Histories of Alexander*, ed. J. B. Bury, 1912, p. 10.

¹¹ Nearchus' expedition to the Persian Gulf via Ras Masandam (Caspian Sea) where Alexander investigated the river (see *Indica* 41.7 with 32.7). In general see V. N. GROOM, *Frankincense and the Red Sea*, esp. chs. 4, 6–8. On the role of the Persian Gulf in the exploration of Mesopotamia see *op. cit.* 41.7 with 32.7. For a good survey of the Arabian Gulf see F. SALLES, *Le Golfe entre l'Arabie et la Perse*, coming Festschrift for Beatrice de N. (1983).

¹² e.g. at Gerrha, or its port, see *op. cit.* 1983, 97–108, for a recent survey.

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first expedition consisted of a single triakonter commanded by Archias of Pella, who sailed as far as Telos (the Bahrein islands), and told Alexander about both Telos and Ikaros (Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.20.3–6). Androsthenes of Thasos and Hieron of Soli were later sent, each with a single triakonter, to push the exploration further down the Arabian coast (*Anabasis* 7.20.7–8).⁹ Alexander's aim, as described in Arrian, who is following the contemporary Aristobulus, was to colonise the Arabian coast and offshore islands, which Alexander thought could be as prosperous as Phoenicia.¹⁰ Since Alexander was attracted by the prosperity of the Arabian incense and spice trade (*Anabasis* 7.20.2), it is likely that his colonies, like the Phoenician cities, were intended to exploit and control this trade as outlets for it.¹¹

It is in this context of colonisation that Arrian names two islands «near» the mouth of the Euphrates, knowledge of which was brought back to Alexander by his explorers. The first, «not far from the outlets of the Euphrates», was the island which, as Aristobulus says, Alexander then ordered to be named Ikaros after the Aegean island (*Anabasis* 7.20.3–5); the identification of Ikaros with Failaka was confirmed by the discovery of text 3 (ll. 1 and 8). The other island was Telos – that is, Bahrein. Arrian's account demonstrates (*cf.* 7.20.4) Alexander's reliance on the commanders of these expeditions for his information about these islands; Alexander clearly did not know Ikaros or Telos from autopsy. Arrian returns briefly to Alexander's Arabian expeditions in the *Indica* (43.8): «Those whom Alexander sent from Babylon in order that sailing as far as possible on the right coast of the Red Sea (the Arabian Gulf) they might reconnoitre the country on this side, these men inspected certain islands lying on their course, and also doubtless put in at the mainland of Arabia».¹² These expeditions appear in the sources as pioneering voyages of exploration, and as the prelude to the programme of conquest and colonisation which Alexander planned, but did not live to carry out.

⁹ See H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Munich 1926) nos. 162 (Archias), 80 (Androsthenes), 382 (Hieron).

¹⁰ Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.20.2 (F.Gr.Hist. 139 F 55). For Aristobulus' account see L. PEARSON, *Lost Histories of Alexander*, *Am.Philol.Assoc.* 20, 1960, 183–185.

¹¹ Nearchus' expedition had discovered the Arabian trade in (Indian) cinnamon and its import via Ras Masandam (Cape Maceta) to Babylonia (*Indica* 32.6–7) and the expeditions of Alexander investigated the Arabian trade in myrrh, frankincense and other spices, accumulating information on the sources of these latter which Theophrastus used (e.g. *De causis plant.* 9.4.9, 10). In general see W. MÜLLER, *RE Suppl.* 15 s.v. Weihrauch, cols. 700f., esp. 720f.; N. GROOM, *Frankincense and Myrrh. A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade* (London 1981) esp. chs. 4, 6–8. On the role of the Gerrhaeans as intermediaries in the trade and as main suppliers of Mesopotamia see Strabo 16.3 (766) from Aristobulus (and 768), and Arrian, *Indica* 41.7 with 32.7. For a good survey of the trade with the Indus valley and with Arabia see J.-F. SALLES, *Le Golfe entre le proche et extrême orient à l'époque hellénistique*, in the forthcoming *Festschrift for Beatrice de Cardi*.

¹² e.g. at Gerrha, or its port? See N. GROOM, «Gerrha, a «lost» Arabian city», *ATLAL* 6 (3), 1983, 97–108, for a recent discussion of the location of Gerrha.

There is, however, no support in the sources for identifying any of Alexander's Arabian expeditions as the occasion for the original foundation of the early hellenistic Greek settlement on Failaka. There is also no basis for the identification¹³ of Ikaros with the unnamed city founded by Alexander (Anabasis 7.21) after sailing from Babylon down the Pollacopas canal «to the lakes as in the direction of Arabia» (*ib.* 21.7). Firstly, Arrian ends Alexander's voyage «at the lakes», and has Alexander sailing back from «the marshes» to Babylon after the foundation of the city;¹⁴ there is no suggestion that Alexander has left Babylonia for the Arabian Gulf. Furthermore, the settlement at Ikaros was not a *polis* (see below on text 3, p. 31).

In summary, a military unit from any one of Alexander's Arabian expeditions could have called at Ikaros and made the dedication, but there is no support in the literary sources for dating the installation of a colony there to this time.

Two other occasions of Greek naval activity in the Arabian Gulf are known, of which the most familiar is the expedition of Antiochus III against Arabian Gerrha in 205 BC (Polybius 13.9.4–5). Antiochus' fleet had to pass Failaka on its way to Gerrha, and the king put in at Telos before sailing back to the head of the Gulf, and thence to Seleucia (presumably Seleucia-Tigris, not Seleucia-Eulaeos, at Susa). The other episode is undated. Pliny relates that Numenius, a Seleucid satrap of Mesene in southern Babylonia, won a double victory by land against Persian cavalry and at sea off the Arabian coast (in the Gulf of Ormuz) opposite Carmania (NH 6.152).¹⁵ The date of this is uncertain. The only clues are Pliny's naming of the king appointing Numenius to his office as Antiochus, the existence of Mesene as a separate satrapy, and its control by the Seleucids. The date of the creation of Mesene – in Seleucid terminology, «the districts of the Red Sea» – as a satrapy separate from Babylonia is uncertain; the *terminus ante quem* is 222 BC (Polybius 5.46.7).¹⁶ The area remained Seleucid until the revolt of Hyspaosines in or after c. 140 BC.¹⁷ Numenius could in fact date to the reign of any Seleucid king named

¹³ E. ALBRECHTSEN, *Kuml* 1958, 182–183, 189.

¹⁴ The identity, and actual location, of this city are uncertain.

¹⁵ Reading, with DEITELFSEN, Die geographischen Bücher der Naturalis Historia des C. Plinius Secundus (Berlin 1904) «... Macae. Horum promunturium contra Carmaniam»; cf. O. MÖRKHOLM, Antiochus IV of Syria (Gyldendal 1966) 168–69, nn. 9 and 14; G. LE RIDER, Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes (Paris 1965) 303 n. 4. On Mesene/Characene see *in primis* S. A. NODELMAN, «A preliminary history of Characene», Berytus 13.2, 1960, 83–121.

¹⁶ Cf. Polybius, 5.48.13. This is the first reference to the 'Districts of Red Sea' as a separate satrapy; see H. BENTSON, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit II* (Munich 1944) 17, 151. It is not safe to use OGIS 54 (reign of Ptolemy III). 22 ff. as a *terminus post quem*, since the omission of this area from the propagandistic list of Ptolemy's (ephemeral and perhaps largely apocryphal) conquests ('as far as Bactria') could be explained by the fact that it was not 'subdued' rather than by the assumption that it did not yet exist as a separate satrapy. The list is anyhow not complete; cf. II.23–24.

¹⁷ See LE RIDER, Suse 370 n.3.

Antiochus (from Antioch) combat resistance from I. Antiochised the reinforcement of the or Taoko/Tawwaj near the Persis, where at Pasargadae to c. 280 BC, has been as Antiochus I in 281 BC.¹⁹ After Antioch in the Gulf may be implied at the mouth of the Tigris. The Gulf, *if* Pliny's attribution is explained as a confusion

The attested Greek explorers and the dedicator are Antiochus III. The dedication could date from his reign or one of the early centuries on the shores of the Tiber. Excavations have now shown

2. A garrison

The form of this dedication
that comprises dedicatio
n. 4). The Seleucid occup

¹⁸ OGIS 233 (c. 205 BC). n. 11 identified Antioch-Persepolis. The city of Taake was nearby; Arrian, *Indica* 39.3. 18 miles from Bushir, has been identified (1981, 69–70). In a paper delivered at the University on 7 December 1981, A. D. H. BIVAR offered as a suggestion that it may certainly be in line with Seleucid practice to identify the centre, such as Taake. Taake is identified with the city of Raz and Persepolis (*cf.* Salles, 1981, 100). Persepolis, and Istakhr.

¹⁹ D. STRONACH, Pasarga between Antiochus IV and A DER, Suse 303 n. 5, and MØR

²⁰ Plin. NH 6.138–139, with the founder (Antiochus quiri-

²¹ NH 6.147, <nunc a Cha
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 against Arabian Gerrha
 ass Failaka on its way to
 to the head of the Gulf,
 Seleucia-Eulaeos, at Su-
 nius, a Seleucid satrap of
 land against Persian can-
 (muz) opposite Carmania
 es are Pliny's naming of
 the existence of Mesene
 e date of the creation of
 Red Sea» – as a satrapy
 em is 222 BC (Polybius
 Iyspaosines in or after c.
 ny Seleucid king named

aturalis Historia des C. Pli-
 n contra Carmaniam»; cf.
 nn. 9 and 14; G. LE RIDER,
 sene/Characene see *in pri-*
 us 13.2, 1960, 83–121.

cts of Red Sea» as a separate
 t II (Munich 1944) 17, 151.
terminus post quem, since the
 emeral and perhaps largely
 the fact that it was not «sub-
 separate satrapy. The list is

Antiochus (from Antiochus I, 280–261, to Antiochus IV, 175–164) who had to combat resistance from Persians. Antiochus I, for example, who personally organised the reinforcement of the Seleucid colony at Antioch-Persis (perhaps Bushir, or Taoke/Tawwaj near Bushir)¹⁸ seems to have faced at his accession unrest in Persis, where at Pasargadae the destruction level in the Achaemenid citadel, dated to c. 280 BC, has been associated with disturbances following the death of Seleucus I in 281 BC.¹⁹ After Antiochus III – mentioned above – Antiochus IV's interest in the Gulf may be implied by his possible refoundation of Antioch Charax near the mouth of the Tigris.²⁰ He is not otherwise known to have been active in the Gulf, *if* Pliny's attribution to Antiochus IV of an Arabian expedition is correctly explained as a confusion with the expedition of Antiochus III.²¹

The attested Greek expeditions in the Gulf, therefore, comprise those of Alexander's explorers and the military expeditions of Numenius the satrap and Antiochus III. The dedication, however, is almost certainly earlier than the period of Antiochus III. It could derive from a military unit of either one of Alexander's explorers or one of the early Seleucid kings (or their officers) whose colonising activities on the shores of the inner Arabian Gulf (e.g. at Antioch-Persis, and, as the excavations have now shown, at Ikaros) make an early Seleucid date a valid option.

2. A garrison

The form of this dedication parallels that of a well-attested category of inscriptions that comprises dedications by hellenistic garrisons and their troops (see above, n. 4). The Seleucid occupation of Ikaros is dated relatively early in the Seleucid pe-

¹⁸ OGIS 233 (c. 205 BC). 14 ff. W. W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*² (1952) 270 n. 11 identified Antioch-Persis with Bushir, where no Seleucid period site has yet been identified. The city of Taoke was inland on the river Granis, and had a royal Achaemenid palace nearby; Arrian, *Indica* 39.3. An Achaemenid palace excavated near the town of Borazjan, 20 miles from Bushir, has been identified with the latter; cf. SALLES, *Proc.Sem.Arab. Studies* 11, 1981, 69–70. In a paper delivered at the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University on 7 December 1982, entitled «Hellenistic Cities on the Iranian Plateau», Dr. A. D. H. BIVAR offered as a suggestion the location of Antioch-Persis at Taoke. It would certainly be in line with Seleucid policy to install a colony at a former Achaemenid administrative centre, such as Taoke. Taoke was on the main route from Bushir (and the Gulf) inland to Shiraz and Persepolis (cf. Salles, *l.c.* 70). Other possibilities would include a location near Persepolis, and Istakhr.

¹⁹ D. STRONACH, *Pasargadae* (Oxford 1978) 155–156. Commentators are normally split between Antiochus IV and Antiochus III: see the lists of BENGTON (*o. c.* n. 16) 156 n. 1, LE RIDER, *Suse* 303 n. 5, and MØRKHOLM (*o. c.* n. 15) 169 n. 14.

²⁰ Plin. NH 6.138–139, with the discussion of MØRKHOLM, *o. c.* 167 ff. as to the identity of the founder («Antiochus quintus»); see LE RIDER, *Suse* 309–311.

²¹ NH 6.147, «nunc a Charace dicemus oram Epiphani primum exquisitam», where Pliny is wrong to make Antiochus IV the first. MØRKHOLM, *o. c.* 168–169, tries to save Pliny's credit by assuming that Pliny was only wrong to make Epiphanes' expedition the first. It is also possible to assume that he simply had the wrong king.

riod (in the time of the *progonoi* of the Seleucid king of text 3). The earliest phase of the settlement F 5 appears to be dated to around, or a little before, the middle of the third century BC, on the basis of the archaeological finds.²² The first phase of the newly discovered hellenistic sanctuary excavated by the French expedition under Dr. J.-F. SALLES on the coast nearby (B 6) appears to be approximately contemporary.²³ The most probable interpretation of this dedication, therefore, is perhaps that it derives from a Seleucid garrison stationed on Ikaros in the first phase of Seleucid occupation.

This is the only direct reference for the presence of Seleucid troops on Ikaros. For indirect evidence for such a presence at the end of the third century, see below, the historical commentary on text 3 (pp. 35–36).

2. Dedication by the inhabitants

A small rectangular altar, found in the campaign of 1959 in Temple A of the hellenistic settlement F 5. The original upper right hand corner is not preserved; original edges are preserved at the top (on the top left hand side), at the upper left side and the lower left side. H. (max): 0.26; Th. 0.09; W. 0.20; letters 0.01–0.022. The inscription is now in the Kuwait National Museum. Plate 2.

First published by K. JEPPESEN, *Kuml* (1960) 186 (fig. 26), *cf.* 187, 193; *cf.* F. ALTHEIM and R. STIEHL, *Klio* 46 (1965) 274. The stone was re-examined by CR in the Kuwait Museum, and the text revised by SSW from a squeeze made in February 1983 by courtesy of the Kuwait Museum authorities.

το[ῖς θεοῖς]
οἱ ἐξ Ἰκα[ρου]
ἱδρύσαν[το]
τὸν βωμ[όν]
vacat

Translation:

To [the Gods] / those from Ika[ros] / dedicated / the altar.

Script

The letters are of uneven size, and not well cut. Notable letter shapes include small *omicron* placed high or midway in the line, as is characteristic of hands of the third

²² H. E. MATHIESEN, *Ikaros 1; The Terracotta Figurines* (Copenhagen 1982) 73; L. HAN-NESTAD, *Ikaros 2:1; The Hellenistic Pottery* (Aarhus 1983) 75–79, esp. 78. For the coins see O. MØRKHOLM, *Kuml* 1960, 199–207, where the earliest isolated coin find is a bronze from Seleucia-Eulaeus (Susa) of Seleucus I, and *Kuml* 1979, 230–236.

²³ Dr. J.-F. SALLES in a lecture on the new excavations on Failaka delivered to the Seminar for Arabian Studies, in Cambridge, on 18 July 1984.



ext 3). The earliest phase
 little before, the middle of
 inds.²² The first phase of
 the French expedition un-
 e approximately contem-
 on, therefore, is perhaps
 s in the first phase of Se-

leucid troops on Ikaros.
 third century, see below,

in Temple A of the helle-
 r is not preserved; origi-
 le), at the upper left side
 ; letters 0.01–0.022. The
 2.

26), cf. 187, 193; cf. F.
 as re-examined by CR in
 squeeze made in Febru-

ar.

tter shapes include small
 stic of hands of the third

enhagen 1982) 73; L. HAN-
 9, esp. 78. For the coins see
 coin find is a bronze from

ka delivered to the Seminar



Plate 2

century BC, especially the first half;²⁴ and *sigma* with sloping top and bottom strokes, not the horizontal strokes which had become common by the second century BC. In general appearance, unpolished workmanship and specific letter shapes the hand is not greatly different from that of the Seleucid inscription, text 3 (see further below). Both inscriptions are likely to be of approximately the same period.

Epigraphic commentary

l.1: ΤΟ [... *ed.pr.* As is clear from the photograph, both ll.1 and 4 are inset one letter space. The symmetrical arrangement of the text suggests that the dedication began with l.1.

l.2: ἐξ ἱ[δου? *ed.pr.* The vertical of the *iota* is clear on the squeeze. The following letter is *kappa*, not *nu*; the vertical and side strokes of *kappa* are clearly visible on the squeeze. Traces of the following letter are visible too. There is no sign of the horizontal bottom stroke of *delta* which the reading ἱνδου requires; traces of the crossbar of *alpha* can, however, be seen, giving the reading ἱκά[ρου, the name of the island. Any direct connection with veterans of the Indian campaign of Alexander²⁵ or of Antiochus III²⁶ vanishes from the text.

Historical commentary

The designation adopted by the group from Ikaros which dedicated the altar is relevant to the question of the status and character of the hellenistic settlement. The οἱ ἐκ formula (with the expressions οἱ ἐν and οἱ περὶ) is used to describe communities of Macedonian (or other) military colonists in hellenistic Asia Minor;²⁷ for example οἱ ἐκ Δοιδύης Μακεδόνες named in their dedication from Doidye in Lydia for King Eumenes II of Pergamum (160 BC)²⁸ and οἱ ἐκ Κ[ο]βηλύλης Μ[ακεδό]ν[ες] named in a dedication from Kobelye near to Kastolos.²⁹ The significant difference at Ikaros is the absence of the ethnic Μακεδόνες and of any other ethnic. This omission is consistent with the designation οἱ ἐν ἱκάρῳ οἰκηταί used by the Seleucid official Anaxarchos in his letter to the community (text 3 l.1); neither there, nor in Ikadion's letter (text 3 ll. 7 ff.) is there any indication that the Seleucid officials are addressing a «military» colony, Macedonian or otherwise.

²⁴ On small *omicron* see WELLES, RC pp. li-iii; L. ROBERT, JA 1958, 9 with n. 4.

²⁵ So JEPPESEN, Kuml 1960, 187, 193.

²⁶ G. COHEN, The Seleucid Colonies (Historia Einzelschr. 30, 1978) 43.

²⁷ For a basic conspectus of evidence see BICKERMAN, Institutions des Séleucides (Paris 1938) 80 n.2.

²⁸ OGIS 314; for the date see L. ROBERT, Villes d'Asie Mineure² (Paris 1962) 257 n. 4.

²⁹ J. KEIL and A. VON PREMERSTEIN, Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien (Denkschr. Akad. Wien 54.2, 1911) 116 no. 223 (163 BC); cf. L. ROBERT, *o.c.* 36.

Dedications «to the G
lenistic period,³⁰ although
than its inclusion.³¹ The
pared with other inscrib
cants' practice is similar
Minor. Several other sma
discovered in the recent

3. Letters from Anaxarchos

A rectangular stele (H. 1
with a socket below, int
rough limestone, incorp
result, the original surfac
sions and holes.

The inscription was fo
or 8 metres to the east
found *in situ*, against th
though it lay face down
sand. The Danish excav
stone, but a large part of
play in the Kuwait Natio

The text was original
after *ed.pr.*), whence SE
SEG). It was apparentl
F. ALTHEIM and R. STIEH
comments of J. and L. R
tions by K. JEPPESEN. Th

³⁰ See, *exempli gratia*, T
24, 27–28, 30–33, 37–42;
Recueil no. 1228.

³¹ For use of the definit
J. MARCADIÉ, Recueil des sig
IG VII.1831; base signed by

³² *Exempli gratia*, R. HE
DURRBACH, Choix no. 135;

³³ Dr. J.-F. SALLES, Proc.
and non-Greek type, found
(main) phase of the sanctua
the deities to whom the alta

sloping top and bottom
common by the second cen-
tury and specific letter
of the Seleucid inscription, text 3
approximately the same

1 and 4 are inset one let-
ter, which suggests that the dedication

is squeezed. The following
characters are clearly visible on
the stone. There is no sign of the
character which requires; traces of the
character 'Ικά[ρ]ου, the name of
the Hellenistic campaign of Alexan-

which dedicated the altar is
from the Hellenistic settlement.
The character is used to describe com-
mon Hellenistic Asia Minor;²⁷
the dedication from Doidye in
the text and οἱ ἐκ Κ[ο]βηλῶν
refers to Kastolos.²⁹ The sig-
nificance of Μακεδόνες and of any
other indication οἱ ἐν 'Ικάρῳ οἰκῶ-
ντες to the community (text 3)
there is any indication that
the community, Macedonian or other-

Dedications «to the Gods» without further specification are common in the Hellenistic period,³⁰ although the omission of the definite article seems more usual than its inclusion.³¹ The formula used for the consecration of altars can be compared with other inscribed Hellenistic altars from the old Greek cities.³² The dedicants' practice is similar to that of contemporaries in the cities of Greece and Asia Minor. Several other small altars, one with traces of a Greek inscription, have been discovered in the recent French excavations.³³

3. Letters from Anaxarchos and Ikadion

A rectangular stele (H. 1.16, W. average 0.615) of varying thickness (average 0.16) with a socket below, intended for insertion in a supporting base. The stone is a rough limestone, incorporating a considerable quantity of coralline particles; as a result, the original surface was not completely smooth, and had occasional protrusions and holes.

The inscription was found in 1959 by the Danish excavators, fallen face down, 7 or 8 metres to the east of Temple A; the base on which it originally stood was found *in situ*, against the facade of the temple. The stone was broken, and although it lay face down, much of the face had been worn away – apparently by sand. The Danish excavators did an excellent job in restoring the fragments of the stone, but a large part of the text is irretrievably lost. The inscription is now on display in the Kuwait National Museum. Plate 3.

The text was originally published by K. JEPPESEN, *Kuml* (1960) 174–198 (hereafter *ed.pr.*), whence SEG 20.411, with some suggested emendations (hereafter SEG). It was apparently seen again, and was published with some revisions by F. ALTHEIM and R. STIEHL, *Klio* 46 (1965) 273–81 (hereafter A–S); on this see the comments of J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. Ep.* 1967.651, incorporating further observations by K. JEPPESEN. The text here is based on examination of the stone on several

³⁰ See, *exempli gratia*, *Tituli Camirenses*, ASAA NS 27–9, 1949–1951, nos. 9–12, 13–21, 24, 27–28, 30–33, 37–42; DURRBACH, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, nos. 38, 69; MICHEL, *Recueil* no. 1228.

³¹ For use of the definite article see, *exempli gratia*, IG XII (9).925 (III/II BC; Chalcis); J. MARCADÉ, *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs II* (Paris 1957) no. 116 (Leuctra; also IG VII.1831; base signed by Praxiteles? I).

³² *Exempli gratia*, R. HERZOG, *Koische Forschungen und Funde* (Leipzig 1899), no. 217; DURRBACH, *Choix* no. 135; MICHEL, *Recueil* no. 1228.

³³ Dr. J.-F. SALLES, *Proc. Sem. Arab. Studies* 14, 1984, 9, describes the altars, both of Greek and non-Greek type, found side by side at the entrance to the cella, and dating to the second (main) phase of the sanctuary. One of the former was inscribed in red paint with the names of the deities to whom the altar belonged.

1958, 9 with n. 4.

(1978) 43.

Inscriptions des Séleucides (Paris

Revue (Paris 1962) 257 n. 4.

Reise in Lydien (Denkschr. 36.



Plate 3

occasions between 1976
photographs by CR and

Ἀνάξαρχ[ο]ς τοῖς ἐ
τῆς ἐπιστ[ρα]τῆς ἦν ε.
ὑπογεγ[ρά]φωμεν ὑμῖν
ὥς ἂν [?] τάχιστα λα
5 ἀναγράψα[τε] ? ἐν στ
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ[ι]. ? θρ' Ἀ

Ἰκαδίων Ἀναξάρχω
ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ Ἰκά
διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς προ
10 ἱερῶσαι καὶ τὸ τῆς (Σ
θαι μεταγαγεῖν. κ[α]
πραγμάτων τα[σσο]μ
ἐκεῖνοι δέ, εἴτε δὴ δ
αὐτοῖς εἴτε διὰ τ[ιν]
15 [ο]ῦ μετήγαγο[ν]. ἡμ
βασιλέως [?] σπουδή
κατεστήσαμ[εν]
μνικὸν καὶ ? μ[ουσικ]
[γ]ε[ῖ]ν κατὰ τ[ὴν] το
20 τῶν προ[γόνων] αὐτο
νήσωι κατ[οικ]οῦντο
ἄλλων ΟΥΔ[...]. ΟΥΔ[...]
ΙΑΙ ΟΥ[...]. ΙΙΙ[...]. Σ
οικισθῆναι. ΣΙ[...].
25 πορεύεσθαι [ΙΙ[...]. ΙΙ[...]
ἀλλ' ἐὰν [ΙΙ[...]. Σ[...].
οὖν σοι γέ[νοιτο] ἵνα
ἄνθρωπο[ι] ? μηδ' ὑπ
μετ[ά]γων[ται]. καὶ ἐα
30 ἐξί[διά]ξουσ[ι] θ[α]ν ἐν τῇ
[ξον αὐτοῖς γῆν ἦν] ἐ
[σαντες ἐξουσι]ν εἰς
[δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ] ἀτέ
[οι τοῦ βασιλέ]ως ἐπ

occasions between 1976 and 1979 by CR, and further study of a squeeze and of photographs by CR and SSW.

Ἀνάξαρχ[χ]ο[ς τοῖς ἐ]γ[γ] Ἰκά[ρωι] οἰκηταῖς χαίρειν·
 τῆς ἐπιστ[ολῆς ἦν e.g. ἔγραψε]γ ἡμῖν Ἰκαδίων
 ὑπογεγ[ράφαμεν ὑμῖν τὸ ἀν]τ[ιγ]ραφον.
 ὡς ἂν [? τάχιστα λάβητε] τ[ὴν ἐ]πιστολὴν
 5 ἀναγράψα[τε ? ἐν στήλῃ, ? ταύτ]ηγ ὃ' ἔκθετε
 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ[ι. ? θρ' Ἀρτ]εμισίου [κ]ζ'. ἔρρωσθε.

vacat

Ἰκαδίων Ἀναξάρχωι χαίρειν· σπεύδει
 ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ Ἰκάρου τῆς νήσου
 διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ ? ἀ[γ]ρ[ο]ν[υ]ς
 10 ἱερῶσαι καὶ τὸ τῆς (Σ)ωτείρας ἱερὸν ἐ[π]ιβαλέ[σ]-
 θαι μεταγαγεῖν. κ[α]ὶ ἔγραψαν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν
 πραγμάτων τα[σσο]μένοις μεταγαγεῖν.
 ἐκεῖνοι δέ, εἴτ[ε δὴ δ]ιὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκποιῆσαι
 αὐτοῖς εἴτ[ε διὰ τ]ιν' ἄ[λλ]ην γούν αἰτίαν,
 15 [ο]ὐ μετήγαγο[ν]. ἡμῖν δὲ γράψ[α]ντος τοῦ
 βασιλέως [? σπουδῇ] μετ[η]γάγομεν καὶ
 κατεστήσαμεν]Σ ἀγῶνα γυ-
 μνικὸν καὶ ? μ[ουσικόν, βο]υλόμενοι ἐξαγα-
 [γ]ε[ῖν] κατὰ τ[ὴν τοῦ βασ]ιλέως αἵρεσιν καὶ
 20 τῶν προ[γόνων] αὐτοῦ. καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ
 νήσῳ κατ[οικ]ούντων νεωκόρων τε καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ΟΥΔ[...]. ΟΥΔ[...]. ΕΠΙ[...]. ΟΥ Σωτήρος
 ΙΑΙ[...]. ΟΥ[...]. ΙΙΙ[...]. ΣΟΥΣ[...]. τῆς νήσου συν-
 οικισθῆναι[...]. ΣΙ[...]. Λ[...]. ΙΟΣ τούτου μὴ προσ-
 25 πορεύεσθαι[...]. ΙΙ[...]. Λ[...]. ΛΙ[...]. Ν τρόπῳ μηδενὶ
 ἀλλ' ἐὰν[...]. ΙΙ[...]. Σ[...]. ΙΙΛΗΝΩ[...]. ΑΣ. ἐπιμελὲς[...]. ΙΙ
 οὖν σοι γέ[νοιτο ἵνα τ]ῶν τ[ε] δικαίων τ[υ]γχάνωσι
 ἄνθρωποι ? μηδ' ὑπὸ μ[ηδ]εγνῶ[ς] ἀδικ[ῶ]νται μηδὲ
 μετ[ά]γων[ται]. καὶ ἐὰν τινες τούτων βούλωνται
 30 ἐξι[διάζω]σθαι ἐν τῇ [ν]ήσῳ[ι] χώραν, παράδει-
 [ξον αὐτοῖς γῆν ἢν] ἐξεργασάμενοι καὶ φυτεύ-
 [σαντες ἔξουσιν] εἰς τὸ πατρικόν. ὑπαρχέτω
 [δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ] ἀτέλεια καθ' ὅτι οἱ πρόγον-
 [οι τοῦ βασιλέ]ως ἐπεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς[ς]

- 35 [? ὅσωνπερ] ε[ις τή]ν νῆσον ἐξάγουσι· εἰς δὲ
 [? τόπους τοὺς κατ' Ἀρ]αβίαν μὴ ἐπίτρεπε μη-
 [δενὶ ? σῖτον ἐξάγειν μηδ'] ἄλλο μηθέν. εἰ
 [δὲ ... 13/15 ... τ]ῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων
 [... 12/14 ... ? -π]ωλῖαι, ἵνα μὴ συμβῇ
 40 [? αὐτοῖς εἰς ἀρρωσ]τίας ἐμπίπτειν
 [... 4/6 ... σύνταξον] οὖν τήν ἐπιστολήν
 [? ταύτην ἀναγρ]άψαντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
 [? ἀναθεῖναι. *vac.*] θρ' [Ἀρ]τεμισίου ιζ'. ἔρρωσο.

Translation:

Anaxarchos [to the] inhabitants of Ikaros. Greetings. / Of the letter [which] Ikadi-
 on [wrote] to us / we have written a copy [for you] below. / As [soon as you re-
 ceive the] letter, / (5) inscribe [it on a *stèle* and] place [this] / in the temple. [(Year)
 109] Artemision [2]7. Farewell.

Ikadion to Anaxarchos. Greetings. / The king is concerned about the island of
 Ikaros / because his *progonoi* also consecrated land / (10) and decided to move the
 temple of the Saviour Goddess. / And they wrote to the officials in charge of / ad-
 ministration (instructing them) to move it. / But they, either, [perhaps] because
 they were prevented / or indeed for some [other] reason / (15) did not move it.
 But we, when the king wrote to us, / moved [it ? promptly], and / we established
 [...] an *agon*, both / sporting and [cultural,] wishing to carry out / the policy of
 the king / (20) and of his *progonoi*. As to the people / settled in the island – both
 the *neokoroi* and / the others [...] ? around [...] of the Saviour God, / ? and those
 [...] ? when] the island [? was ...] / they were included in the settlement [...] ?] they
 should not / (25) encroach on this [...] in any way / but are to leave alone [...]. So
 let it be your concern / [to ensure that] men obtain their rights / and are not
 wronged [by anyone] / or moved. [And if] some of these wish / (30) to [? acquire
 property] on the island, designate land / [which,] when they have cultivated and
 planted (it) / [they will own] as a hereditary possession. Let / [them also have]
 freedom from taxation just as the *progonoi* / [of the king] granted ? them / (35)
 [for whatever (goods)] they export to the island; but / [? to the region of Ar]abia
 do not allow / [? anyone to export corn or] anything else. If / [...] of] what is due /
 [...] ? sales, in order that / (40) they should not fall [? into ill-health ... Order]
 (them) therefore / to inscribe [this] letter and [to set it up] in the temple / (Year)
 109, Artemision 17. Farewell.

Script

The condition of the stone creates considerable difficulties in reading what re-
 mains; and these are aggravated by the nature of the script itself, which is remark-
 ably irregular. The margin at the left side is fairly straight, at an average width of
 0.04; but on the right some lines extend to the very edge of the stone, while others

stop several letter-spaces
 down to an *omicron* of
 often very difficult to as-
 The number of letters in
 age of 30–32. Of those
 yond doubt, l. 8 has 27
 19, 32; l. 11, 33; the res-
 36 letters. Some of these
 at an appropriate point
 there are also considera-
 cause of the irregularity
 cut, with a narrow, curve
 the top. In spite of the u-
 lines tend to slope down

As a result of these te-
 other examples of third
 as, for example, Antioch
 III's edict from Nehav
 [1949] 5 ff., pl. 1–4). Par-
 state of the original sur-
 to work; another factor
 inscribe the text for the
 lapidary style used for t

The shapes of many
 short middle bar and w-
 additionally the three b-
 short and long side stro-
 vertical. *Sigma* occurs m-
 the lower stroke horizo-
 «eye». The shape of *chi*
 the line, sometimes the s-
 if not size and orientati-
 markably, is supported
 not vertical – side-stroke
 «shallow» (or «early») f-
 and is never sunk to the
 tioned high in the line.
 which is larger than *om*-
 both vertical (l. 5) and h-
 ter with a long horizont-
 cially towards the end o-
 most the same length as

stop several letter-spaces short of it. The letters vary in height from about 0.015 down to an *omicron* of 0.007; but they vary more strikingly in width, so that it is often very difficult to assess how many letters should be restored in a given space. The number of letters in each line, therefore, varies considerably, around an average of 30–32. Of those few lines which are complete, or whose restoration is beyond doubt, l. 8 has 27 letters; l. 15, 29 letters; ll. 7 and 12, 30; l. 20, 31; ll. 9 and 19, 32; l. 11, 33; the restoration of l. 1, which seems almost certain, gives a line of 36 letters. Some of these irregularities result from the cutter's wish to break the text at an appropriate point (thus he fitted Anaxarchos' opening phrase into l. 1); but there are also considerable variations in the spaces between the letters, often because of the irregularities in the surface of the stone. The letters are fairly deeply cut, with a narrow, curved trench; there is a tendency for vertical lines to bifurcate at the top. In spite of the use of lightly incised guide-lines, traces of which are visible, lines tend to slope downwards (sometimes quite sharply) at the right hand side.

As a result of these tendencies, this inscription looks crude by comparison with other examples of third and early second century Seleucid edicts and letters, such as, for example, Antiochus I's letter to Erythrae (RC 15; OGIS 223) or Antiochus III's edict from Nehavend (ancient Laodicea in Media: L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 7 [1949] 5 ff., pl. 1–4). Part of the reason, as has been suggested, must have been the state of the original surface of the stone, which will have been extremely difficult to work; another factor *may* be that there was no experienced mason available to inscribe the text for the inhabitants of Ikaros. But more important than this is the lapidary style used for the inscription (see below).

The shapes of many letters vary capriciously. Thus, *epsilon* occurs with both a short middle bar and with one equal in length to the top and bottom horizontals; additionally the three bars often slope instead of being parallel. *Kappa* has both short and long side strokes which do not always intersect at the same point on the vertical. *Sigma* occurs mostly with sloping upper and lower strokes, but also with the lower stroke horizontal. *Rho*, which is tall, is found with a small and a large «eye». The shape of *chi* varies too, sometimes a small letter positioned high up in the line, sometimes the size of other letters. Several letters have a consistent shape, if not size and orientation. *Alpha* has a straight, not «broken», cross-bar. *Delta*, remarkably, is supported on an upright, *passim*. *Mu* is always wide, with sloping – not vertical – side-strokes, but varies in height. *Nu*, often sloping, regularly has a «shallow» (or «early») form, in which the right hasta rises above the left vertical, and is never sunk to the base line. *Omega* and *omicron* are regularly small and positioned high in the line. Several letters have several quite different forms: *theta*, which is larger than *omicron*, occurs with a dot in the centre and with a cross-bar, both vertical (l. 5) and horizontal. The form of *pi* varies: it occurs both as a tall letter with a long horizontal and short right hasta (sometimes curved) and also, especially towards the end of the text (ll. 36 ff.) as a small letter with right hasta of almost the same length as the left vertical.

The particular forms of several of these letters are consonant with a date in the third century BC, from between approximately the first quarter to before the last quarter of the century, being well paralleled now in the Seleucid empire by, e.g., the Greek versions of edicts of Asoka from Kandahar,³⁴ the Seleucid milestone from Pasargadae,³⁵ the manumission from Hyrcania of the reign of Antiochus I,³⁶ and the recently discovered Greek inscription from the British excavations at Old Kandahar.³⁷ Small *omicron* and *omega* «suspended» in the line, and shallow *nu*, are among the characteristic features of the scripts of these texts; they are earlier forms than the large *omicrons* and *omegas*, and the deep *nus* of the later third and second centuries (see WELLES, RC, li–liii).

Several letters of this text, however, do show later forms than occur in this sample of inscriptions: for example, *theta* with cross-bar, and the form of *pi* in which the second hasta is nearly as long as the first. Both forms develop in the second half of the third century (cf. WELLES, RC li). Among their earliest dated attestations are their occurrence in the copy of the edict of Antiochus III concerning the dynastic cult of Laodike found near Carian Eriza, of 193 BC,³⁸ and the Seleucid dossier on the holdings of the *strategos* Ptolemy from Tell el-Firr near Beth-Shean (Scythopolis), inscribed in 195 BC.³⁹ These forms, therefore, suggest a date later rather than earlier in the third century.

It is normal in hellenistic Greek epigraphy to differentiate between the «monumental» and «cursive» (or «documentary») styles, which co-existed.⁴⁰ The latter was influenced by the style used for writing on papyri and comparable material. It seems clear that text 3 is not cut in the «monumental» style. In so far as it is possible to detect the signs of a particular lapidary style the influence in text 3 comes from the «documentary» – or «cursive». The «cursive» style was also used for the inscription of the two important sets of Seleucid documents from the very early second century cited above: the copy of the edict of Antiochus III (with *hypomnema*) from Eriza, and the dossier of correspondence between Antiochus III, Seleucid of-

³⁴ L. ROBERT, JA 1958, 7–18 (plate 4); D. SCHLUMBERGER, CRAI 1964, 126–140 (plate facing 140) with the commentary of L. ROBERT at 134–140.

³⁵ D. M. LEWIS, The Seleucid Inscription, in D. STRONACH, (o. c. n. 19) 160–161 (plates 135–136).

³⁶ L. ROBERT, Hellenica 11–12 (Paris 1960) 85–91 (plate 5).

³⁷ P. M. FRASER, Afghan Studies 2, 1979, 9–21 (plates 20–21).

³⁸ M. HOLLEAUX, BCH 54, 1930, 245–62, esp. 246–49 (plates XII–XIII). HOLLEAUX aptly compared the cursive characteristics of the inscription from Tenos, IG XII 5, 872 (O. KERN, Inscr. Graecae, 1913, pl. 35), dating from the second half of the third century, or early second century; cf. HOLLEAUX, o. c. 247 n. 6.

³⁹ *Editio princeps*: Y. H. LANDAU, IEJ 16, 1966, 54–70 (plate 7), with description (and a table) of the letter forms at 55–56; the text has been re-edited by TH. FISCHER, ZPE 33, 1977, 131–138; see also, for bibliography, TAYLOR, o. c. below (n. 46).

⁴⁰ Cf. L. ROBERT, o. c. n. 34, 8–9.

ficials, and Ptolemy the description of the lettering, cette image, est négligée, lettres varie à la ligne de 2 èt de rappeler par son tra ornementation (l'absence grecs». ⁴² This apt descrip text 3, so similar are the apices – as in text 3 – is in the «cursive» style on our cal of *eta* and (sometimes) (mentioned above) all ch. Although *omicron* and *omega* become parallel in «mon that these letters have in in «cursive» style; they are Seleucid manumissions fr

To summarise: the letter the third or the early second ing from the proposed re of Artemision). As to the ance of this Seleucid docu stone, which made inscrib haps the style: not the be of Asoka's bilingual edict were decoratively inscrib individual letter shapes of near Eriza and from Tell from Ikaros is not an iso longs to the gradually gr ners of the empire which the colonial Greek world

⁴¹ See nn. 38–39. The letter 1964, 126–40; n. 34 above), edict of Asoka, was influence 135, with the photo facing 1 dotted throughout.

⁴³ Cf. CUMONT, CRAI 19 and IDEM, Mém. de la Miss (177/6 BC). S. M. SHERWIN- ons in the Department of O inscriptions from Susa in the

⁴⁴ Cf. L. ROBERT, JA 1958

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H. FISCHER, ZPE 33, 1977,

ficials, and Ptolemy the *strategos* from Tell el-Firr.⁴¹ M. HOLLEAUX began his de-
scription of the lettering of the former as follows: «L'écriture, comme le fait voir
cette image, est négligée, irrégulière, et si inégalement espacée, que le nombre des
lettres varie à la ligne de 27 à 39. Elle ne flatte guère l'oeil. Mais elle a le grand inté-
rêt de rappeler par son tracé rapide et systématiquement simplifié, qui exclut toute
ornementation (l'absence complète d'*apices* est notable), l'écriture des papyrus
grecs».⁴² This apt description could easily be transferred to the Ikaros inscription,
text 3, so similar are the remarkable features of the two hands. The absence of
apices – as in text 3 – is in fact characteristic of this lapidary style. The influence of
the «cursive» style on our text can also be seen in the tendency of the second verti-
cal of *eta* and (sometimes) of *pi* to curve, and the distinctive shallow form of *nu*
(mentioned above) all characteristics of the Eriza and the Tell el-Firr inscriptions.
Although *omicron* and *omega* develop in size over time, and the side-strokes of *mu*
become parallel in «monumental» texts (WELLES, RC li–lii), the particular forms
that these letters have in text 3 are found in inscriptions of the second century cut
in «cursive» style; they are thus well paralleled e.g. in the text from Eriza, and in
Seleucid manumissions from Seleucia-Eulaeus (Susa).⁴³

To summarise: the lettering of text 3 is consonant with a date in the latter part of
the third or the early second century BC. It is fully compatible with the date result-
ing from the proposed reading (l. 43) of the Seleucid era date 109 (204 BC, month
of Artemision). As to the quality of the script, any surprise at the unlovely appear-
ance of this Seleucid document may be partly accounted for by the character of the
stone, which made inscribing it hard. The most important factor, however, is per-
haps the style: not the beautiful monumental lettering in which the Greek version
of Asoka's bilingual edict, or the copy of the edict of Antiochus III at Nehavend,
were decoratively inscribed, but the less attractive «documentary» style in which
individual letter shapes often varied considerably, as the Seleucid inscriptions from
near Eriza and from Tell el-Firr well show. In this respect the Seleucid inscription
from Ikaros is not an isolated phenomenon, nor necessarily «provincial»; it be-
longs to the gradually growing group of Seleucid documents from far-flung cor-
ners of the empire which attest the homogeneity of the different lapidary styles in
the colonial Greek world of the hellenistic period.⁴⁴

⁴¹ See nn. 38–39. The lettering of the monolingual Greek text from Old Kandahar (CRAI
1964, 126–40; n. 34 above), which contained much of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th
edict of Asoka, was influenced by «papyrus» hands; see the remarks of L. ROBERT, CRAI 1964,
135, with the photo facing 140. *Pi* is small, with left and right hasta of equal length; *theta* is
dotted throughout. ⁴² o. c. n. 38, 246.

⁴³ Cf. CUMONT, CRAI 1931, 279–285 no. 1 (with facsimile), whence SEG 7.17 (183 BC);
and IDEM, Mém. de la Mission arch. de Perse 20, 1928, 81–84 (pl. IV.3), whence SEG 7.2
(177/6 BC). S. M. SHERWIN-WHITE is grateful to Dr. B. LEICKNAM, Conservateur of inscrip-
tions in the Department of Oriental Antiquities, for facilitating access to the hellenistic Greek
inscriptions from Susa in the Louvre museum.

⁴⁴ Cf. L. ROBERT, JA 1958, 11–12, and CRAI 1964, 135–136.

Epigraphic commentary

l. 1: Ἀνάξαρχ[χ]ο[ς]: the O was only read, very tentatively, by us. ἐ]γ' Ἰκάρου: *ed.pr.* gives ΙΙΑ, where we read, cautiously, ΙΙΙΑ: the spacing of the uprights would permit the restoration, on which we agree. The result is an opening phrase of the standard form. For contemporary use of the term *oiketai* collectively, to describe the (free) inhabitants of Magnesia-Sipylus (Greek and non-Greek) as distinct from the Seleucid military *katoikoi*, see OGIS 229.35, 47 and 48 (Seleucus II); for the implications for the situation on Ikaros, see historical commentary.

l. 3: ἀν]τ[ίγ]ραφον: ΠΑΦΟΝ *ed.pr.*; we read a preceding upright which could be T.

For the resultant phrase compare e.g. an official letter of c. 275: ἐπιστολὰς ... ὧν τάντίγραφα ὑμῖν ὑπογεγράφαμεν (OGIS 221; RC 13, 3–4), which suggests this restoration: but a passive construction – ὑπογράφεται – is equally likely. For the passive, see the structure of the covering letters accompanying the instructions for the worship of Laodice, of 193 (L. ROBERT, *Hell.* VII, 5–29; CRAI [1967], 281–96).

l. 4: ὥς ἂν suggests a temporal clause, and plausibly that suggested by *ed.pr.*, ὥς ἂν [τάχιστα λάβητε; for the construction, citing a close parallel from a third century papyrus, P.Cair.Zen. 241.1, see LSJ s.v. ὥς, A. d.

ἐ]πιστολὴν: the stone has a *delta* in place of *lambda*.

l. 5: ἀναγράψα[τε στήλην *ed.pr.*; ἀναγράψα[τε ἐστίλῃ SEG. The most common formula, εἰς στήλην, is too long for the available space; we prefer ἐν στήλῃ.

At the end of the line, *ed.pr.* reports ..]ΑΠ[.]ΛΕΙΓ-ΕΤΕ, and restores ἀπ[ο]λείπετε, which is not otherwise attested in such a context. There is a break in the stone before ΕΤΕ; the letter written across the break appears to us to be a large *theta*, with a vertical as well as a horizontal bar. The preceding letter is certainly K, and we agree that the letter before that is E, giving ἐκθετε. While the most common term used for the «setting up» of inscribed documents is ἀναθεῖναι, ἐκθεῖναι is also sometimes used in this sense; thus in a Coan law of c. 200 BC: τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε ἀναγράψαντες εἰς λεύκωμα ἐκτιθέντω πᾶσαν ἀμέραν (Syll.³ 1023.65; similarly 921.120, fourth century Attica; 339.3, early third century Rhodes; etc.). The letter before this word is triangular, and there are traces of the lower edge of a *delta*, although *alpha* or *lambda* cannot be completely ruled out. The simplest interpretation seems to be that this is δ', either as a connective particle or as the final element of a demonstrative pronoun (τήνδε). The triangular letter is preceded by two uprights, which could be interpreted as an N; before those a trace can be seen, which may well be the second vertical, with a characteristic curve, of an *eta*, giving HN. We would suggest reading τήνδ' or ταύτην δ', as referring back to the *stèle*: «inscribe the letter on a *stèle*, and set this up»; the construction is not standard, but might well have been influenced by the terms in which Ikadion gave his instructions about the display of his letter: in ll.41–2 the spacing suggests to us the restoration τὴν ἐπιστολὴν [ταύτην ἀναγρ]άψαντας κτλ.

l. 6. The year date must be supplied from l. 43. Since the month is the same as that

of Ikadion's letter dated Artemision (so *ed.pr.*).

Lines 1–6 therefore p inhabitants of Ikaros, fo The scribe left a gap betw
l. 7: Compare Antiochu αὐτῆς: OGIS 223 (RC
l. 9. προγόνους may me assembled by WELLES, F cestors» of the Seleucid Argeads (see ROSTOVTZI mentary p. 39.

At the end of this lin away, leaving only faint ther a rather splayed tri next space may not be s next space seems definit The following trace, if s with apparently insignifi traces, including the fin restoration; after a sub ἄσυλον (see Bull. Ep. 19

In our view, the wor still not all – the traces Compare the consecrat chus III's viceroy, Zeuxi tary of J. and L. ROBERT then is that the king's pr of the *hieron*. Compare phictyony in 380/79 BC consecration of a *polis* 590.8–9, from Miletus, lu 9, 1964, 29–159 at 34 the dedication of land - nischen Kultreformen u Antiochos I, Leiden 197 l. 10. The stone has TH see traces.

ἐ[π]ιβαλέ[σ]/θαι: we h l. 11. For the use of μετά λαβήσας μεταγαγεῖν σκεύασεν, a reference t

of Ikadion's letter dated 17 Artemision, the date here must be ten days later, [2]7 Artemision (so *ed.pr.*).

Lines 1–6 therefore present a standard covering letter from Anaxarchus to the inhabitants of Ikaros, forwarding Ikadion's letter, with instructions for its display. The scribe left a gap between this and the text of Ikadion's letter.

l.7: Compare Antiochus II: οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγο[νοι] ἔσπευδον αἰεὶ ποτε περὶ αὐτῆς: OGIS 223 (RC 15) l.23; Erythrae.

l.9. προγόνους may mean no more than «father» (see the conspectus of evidence assembled by WELLES, RC pp.81–2); or it may be a stereotyped term for the «ancestors» of the Seleucid dynasty, perhaps including both the Achaemenids and the Argeads (see ROSTOVITZ, «Progonoi», JHS 55, 1935, 56–66. See historical commentary p.39.

At the end of this line the stone is unbroken, but the surface has been rubbed away, leaving only faint traces of the word which stood there. The first letter is either a rather splayed triangular letter, or the first part of a *mu*. The traces in the next space may not be significant – there is perhaps the mark of an upright. The next space seems definitely to contain an upright, perhaps with the bowl of a *rho*. The following trace, if significant, could be of an *omicron*. There is a further space, with apparently insignificant traces, and then a final sigma. *Ed.pr.* reports similar traces, including the final *sigma* (although SEG prints *nu*), without attempting a restoration; after a subsequent revision of the stone JEPPESEN proposed to read ἄστυλον (see Bull. Ep. 1967.651). A–S proposed [βωμού]ς.

In our view, the word which can be accommodated to most – although perhaps still not all – the traces visible on the stone is ἄ[γ]ρ[ο]ύς, «fields», and so «land». Compare the consecration (or re-dedication?), of ἄγροι at Xanthos by Antiochus III's viceroy, Zeuxis (OGIS 235 of c. 203, with the restoration and commentary of J. and L. ROBERT, Fouilles d'Ambron I [Paris 1983] 93–96 no. 1). The sense then is that the king's *progonoi* consecrated a site in preparation for the installation of the *hieron*. Compare the expression γὰν ἱερῶσαι (Syll.³ 145.15, Delphic Amphictyony in 380/79 BC) and the hellenistic use of the cognate καθιερώ for the consecration of a *polis* and *chora* in establishing the *asylia* of a place (thus Syll.³ 590.8–9, from Miletus, late third/early second century BC; P. HERRMANN, Anadolu 9, 1964, 29–159 at 34, ll.15–16 [Antiochus III at Teos] and 37, ll. 29–30) and for the dedication of land – *chora* – for a sanctuary: H. WALDMANN, Die Kommagenischen Kulturreformen unter König Mithradates I Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I, Leiden 1973, 87 l.165 and 103 l.94 (Antiochus I of Commagene).

l.10. The stone has ΤΗΣΩΤΕΙΡΑΣ. *Ed. pr.* does not report the second T, but we see traces.

ἐ[π]ιβαλέ[σ]/θαι: we have been unable to see the *sigma* reported in *ed. pr.*

l.11. For the use of μεταγείν compare Syll.³ 587.6: τὸν τε ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐργολαβήσας μεταγαγεῖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαι ... καὶ τὸν βωμὸν μεταγαγὼν κατεσκεύασεν, a reference to moving the temple of Athena inside the walls of Pepare-

thus when the city was being rebuilt in c. 196. Compare, more generally, Syll.³ 588.51 (*synthekai* of Miletus and Magnesia, of c. 196). For the repetitive use of *καί* – the so-called «*καί* style» – see the remarks of L. ROBERT, JA 1958, 12.

l. 11–12. Compare Antiochus III, writing to Magnesia in c. 205: γεγράφαμεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένοις, RC 31 (OGIS 233) 25–26. The implication of the next sentences is that these were Ikadion's predecessors in office; see historical commentary p. 29.

l. 13. After EIT there is a break in the stone, with room for about four letters. *Ed.pr.* restores εἴτ' [οὖν δ]ιά; but there seems no need for the connective force of οὖν, and we prefer the slight sense of irony conveyed by δῆ. This first explanation is perhaps that advanced by the officials.

l. 14. There is, again, a break after EIT, and a worn area further on. Between the two, *ed.pr.* reports HNA, followed by traces of a possible further H, with the consequent restoration εἴτ[ε δι'] ἡνδ[η] [πο]τοῦν. To us, the traces in the central space appear to be INA, followed by a 3–4 letter space in which nothing definite can be determined. The next letter seems to us more like a *gamma* than a *tau*. We therefore restore εἴτ[ε διὰ τ]ιν' ἄ[λλην] γοῦν αἰτίαν. Γοῦν, with the force of «bringing forward a reason which, while not absolutely conclusive, is the most probable explanation of a previous statement» (SMYTH, Greek Grammar, 1956, para. 2830) provides just the right tone.

l. 15. The emphatic position of ἡμῖν, at the beginning of the sentence, suggests that Ikadion is concerned to stress the contrast between his conduct and that of his predecessor(s): «But, when the king wrote to us ...».

l. 16. After the final sigma of βασιλέως, *ed.pr.* reports *sigma*, and restores σ[πουδῆι. We are not convinced that we can see the *sigma*, but we find the restoration convincing.

l. 17. Before ἀγῶνα *ed.pr.* reports ΕΣ, whence SEG suggest ἐπάναγκ]ες. We can only determine the *sigma* with difficulty, and nothing certain before it.

l. 18. After καί, there are traces of one more letter, followed by an area in which nothing can be read. *Ed.pr.* interprets the traces as *epsilon*, and restores: (ἰ)ε[ρεῖς ἐστε] ἰλάμεν ι'. We read the surviving traces as *mu*, and have restored μ[ουσικόν], as a very likely description of the contest which Ikadion established. For the classes of *agon* set out in this order, compare Syll.³ 390.21 (c. 280 BC); for the wider issues, see historical commentary, p. 38.

After the gap, *ed.pr.* reports ΙΑΛΜΕΝΙ; we see ΥΛΟ, then traces of M, EN, and, less certainly, QI. Before Υ the letter cannot be read, but the traces in the preceding space would accommodate B; we therefore restore βο]υλόμενοι. ἐξα-γα[γ]ε[τ]ιν: for the sense of «administer» see WELLES, RC p. 333.

ll. 19–20. For αἵρεσις, a standard term in hellenistic documents for «policy», see WELLES, RC p. 310; for the thought here compare e.g. Antiochus I: τοῦτο ποιῶν [... ἀκολουθήσει τῇ τ]ῶν προγόνων αἰρέσει (OGIS 222.19–20).

The first section of Ikadion's letter has taken the form standard in such docu-

ments, of setting out the principles which are to follow (see WELLES, RC p. 333) with regulating the statue. The possibility of punctuation, with the sense «We have also about the inhabitants a burdensome sentence, and the phrase βο]υλόμενοι ... contrast, which Ikadion sees as a predecessor(s) and his own. ll. 20–26. These lines present what has been said, we consider introducing the section of the next recognisable open. Between these two points where we should look for demands which are to make infinitives in ll. 23–25 show with the first recognisable that point. If this is right, the current situation; the instructions of the king(s); in an impersonal construction. l. 22. After ἄλλων, it is possible an *upsilon*; and then an *alpha* the corner of a *delta*. *Ed.pr.* as θυσ[ίας ποιεῖν] ἐπὶ [β] difficult to incorporate, This might give οὖς, introducing preceding clause; that is within the available space governing οὖς. Alternatively ending with ἄλλων, and οὐδ' [...]

After the *delta/sigma* what seems fairly clearly space for 2–3 letters, the have not found these traces supply a description (such accusative plural, to agree followed by the main verb the traces.

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 BERT, JA 1958, 12.

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 19–20).

standard in such docu-

ments, of setting out the circumstances which give rise to the instructions which are to follow (see WELLES, RC p. xlv). The remainder of the letter is concerned with regulating the status and rights of the inhabitants of the island. We considered the possibility of punctuating after μ[ουσικόν], in l. 18, and assuming a new sentence, with the sense «Wishing to carry out the policy of the king and his ancestors also about the inhabitants, etc., we did so and so». But this produces a rather cumbersome sentence, and one with apparently no connective. We prefer to take the phrase βο]υλόμενοι ... αὐτοῦ with the preceding sentence, as reinforcing the contrast, which Ikadion seems eager to point out, between the lax behaviour of his predecessor(s) and his own ready compliance with royal policy.

ll. 20–26. These lines present the most intractable problems of this difficult text. As has been said, we consider that a new sentence begins in l. 20, with καὶ περὶ τῶν, introducing the section of the letter (ll. 20–41) concerned with the inhabitants. The next recognisable opening of a sentence is ἐπιμελὲς οὖν, at the end of l. 26. Between these two points, it is not clear whether there are one or two sentences, nor where we should look for the main verb(s). These might be the first of the commands which are to make up the second part of the text; one possibility is that the infinitives in ll. 23–25 should be taken as imperatives. But the use of οὖν, in l. 27, with the first recognisable command perhaps suggests that the commands begin at that point. If this is right, then in ll. 20–26 we should be looking for a description of the current situation; the verb(s) might be in the third person, describing the instructions of the king(s); in the first person plural, describing action by Ikadion; or in an impersonal construction.

l. 22. After ἄλλων, it is possible to see traces of a circular letter; then, fairly clearly, an *upsilon*; and then an angle which might be either the upper angle of a *sigma* or the corner of a *delta*. *Ed.pr.* reports ΟΥΣ, proposing θυσ[ίας] ..., developed by SEG as θυσ[ίας ποιεῖν] ἐπὶ [βωμ]οῦ Σωτήρος. We find the reference to sacrifices rather difficult to incorporate, and consider the circular letter more likely to be *omicron*. This might give οὔς, introducing a relative clause describing the «others» of the preceding clause; that is an attractive construction, but it requires us to locate within the available spaces, both a main verb and a verb within the relative clause, governing οὔς. Alternatively, we can take the description of the island residents as ending with ἄλλων, and assume that the main clause begins here, with οὐ Σ[...], or οὐδ' [...].

After the *delta/sigma* we see 2 or 3 spaces, followed by a circular letter, and then what seems fairly clearly to be a *chi*; this was not seen previously. It is followed by space for 2–3 letters, the last one consisting, or ending, in a vertical (so *ed.pr.*). We have not found these traces easy to interpret. If this is a relative clause, we cannot supply a description (such as *κάτοχοι*, which we considered) since it is not in the accusative plural, to agree with οὔς. It would be convenient to assume a negative, followed by the main verb; but we have been unable to find a likely term which fits the traces.

In the last part of the sentence, ἐπί, which is fairly clear, is followed by a hole in the stone, where 2 or perhaps 3, letters might have stood; this is followed by ΟΥ Σωτήρος. Ἐπί is most easily taken as an indication of location, to be followed by the name of a place – βωμ]οῦ (as suggested by SEG), να]οῦ, ἱερ]οῦ, or another appropriate term; but it seems surprising that the *Soter*, mentioned for the first time here, appears without a definite article (in contrast, for example, with the *Soteira*, in l. 10). This might be explained if the preceding word was θε]οῦ: compare, for example, the reference to the god at Baetocaece in a letter originally probably of the late second or early first century: τῆς ἐνεργείας θεοῦ Διὸς Βαιτοκαίκης, RC 70 (OGIS 262).4. For discussion of the date see K. J. RIGSBY, *TAPA* 110 (1980) 233–61 at 248–54.

l. 23. Of the first letter only an upright can be seen, of the fourth only an upper horizontal. It is probably safest to restore καὶ τοῦ[ς (*ed. pr.*), καὶ τοῦ[τους or καὶ τοῦ[το. A–S proposed τοῦ[ς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπ]ους [ἐκ] τῆς νήσου, but this cannot be fitted with the surviving traces.

The rest of this line seems most probably to have been occupied by a genitive absolute construction describing the island, qualified by a participle – perhaps just οὔσης, with an epithet such as ἱερᾶς (as suggested by SEG, τοῦ[ς οὐκέθ' ἱερᾶς] οὔσ[η]ς). Other possibilities might be ἐρήμης, or σώας; compare Seleucus I to Miletus: τῆς πόλεως διαμενούσης σώας, RC 5 (OGIS 214).11, 288/7 BC.

l. 24. συν/οικισθῆ[ν]α[ι]. *Ed. pr.* reported συν/οικισθῆ[ν]α[ι] ..., which led SEG to suggest τοῦ[ς οὐκέθ' ἱερᾶς] οὔσ[η]ς τῆς νήσου συν/οικισθῆ[ν]α[ι] τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν-τ]ός; A–S restore συνοικισθῆ[ν]α[ι] ἀμφὶ τὸ τέμεν]ος τοῦτου. We consider that the surviving traces of the letters, and the spacing, make the infinitive certain. After the *alpha* there is a space which could accommodate one letter, and then an upright, almost certainly an iota, previously unread. It is probably easiest to take the space as a fault in the surface, and the *iota* as the final letter of the verb.

For the use of the noun *synoikismos*, and the verb συνοικισθῆναι to denote the repeopling and reconstruction of a place – not political unification – see J. and L. ROBERT, *Amyzon* I no. 15, 15–16 (*Amyzon*, 201 BC) and 189 (decree of Xanthos, referring to the restoration of the rights of Kytinion in Doris; 209–208 BC, cf. *ib.* 162 n. 31).

After this we see a definite *sigma*, which was not reported previously, followed by a probable upright. This is another possible location for a main verb, and an obvious choice would be συ[νέτ]α[ξε] or συ[νέτ]α[ξαμεν]. If, however, we could locate a verb in l. 22, or if we take these infinitives as imperatives, we could end the phrase concerned with the original inhabitants after συνοικισθῆναι. The words which follow could then belong to a new sentence, in ll. 24–26, concerned with orders given to newer inhabitants, or soldiers, not to encroach on the rights of residents (see historical commentary, p. 35). This would give good sense. But it remains very difficult, firstly, to make good sense of ΟΣ after the lacuna; and, secondly, to determine the sense of τοῦτου, which apparently describes what this

group must not encroach on, which it can refer – unless the noun, immediately preceding.

At the end of the line there is a faint trace of the *sigma*, followed by a verb, in the sense of «encroach». Labraunda: μὴ ἐπίτρεπ[ε]ν θαι τὼν ἐπιβαλ[λόντων] εὐεσθαι τὼν μὴ καθήκ[οντων]. Crampa on the Labraunda inscription. l. 25. After προσπορεύ[ε]ν proposed μηδὲ κακούρ[ε]ν traces of letters, but are not clear. l. 26. *Ed. pr.* reads ἀλλ' ἐπ[ὶ] θυσί]ας. We find the suffix with ἀλλ' ἐπ[ὶ]... We find the sense of this passage to be the sense of this passage to avoid encroaching on the rights of the commentary, p. 35). For the end of a royal letter, m...

We have been unable to find the best to punctuate before the command addressed to the emperor. ἐσθω/γέννοιτο/ἔστω ἵνα... ll. 26–27. After ἐπιμελέ[σθαι] ἵν' οὖν Σ[...]. Since οὖν must be the last word, μελέ[σθαι] to be the last word, σ[υν]οικῶσι φιλικῶς; A space with no letter visible. I believe that these are not correct, followed by a horizontal line γε[νέσθω].

l. 27. In the second part of the line we are sure that we can see all the traces of a general instruction that men should follow the classical and hellenistic order of Ptolemy VI, of 162 BC. ἵνα προνοεῖσθαι ὅπως τὰς Ordonnances des P...

l. 28. Before ἀδικῶνται proposed εἴ τινας] ξένοι; A–S proposed a letter broader than *iota*...

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Διὸς Βαιτοκαΐκης, RC
GSBY, TAPA 110 (1980)

the fourth only an upper
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participle – perhaps just
EG, τοῦ[ς οὐκέθ' ιερᾶς]
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οικισθῆναι. The words
–26, concerned with or-
ach on the rights of resi-
e good sense. But it re-
C after the lacuna; and,
ently describes what this

group must not encroach upon. There is no obvious term in the previous lines to which it can refer – unless perhaps Σωτήρος; it may perhaps require us to restore a noun, immediately preceding it, with a genitive ending in ΟΣ.

At the end of the line *ed.pr.* reads προ/πορεύεσθαι; we think that we can see a faint trace of the *sigma* of προσ/πορεύεσθαι, which gives better sense. For this verb, in the sense of «encroach», compare a letter of Seleucus II, in about 240, to Labraunda: μὴ ἐπίτρεπε τοῖς Μυλα[σ]εῦσιν κατὰ μηθένα τρόπον προσπορεύεσθαι τῶν ἐπιβαλ[λόντων τῷ ιερ]ῷ (Labraunda I, 7–9); cf. μὴ ἐπιτρέπη προσπορεύεσθαι τῶν μὴ καθηκόντων αὐτῷ (P. Enteux. 69.7, third century BC, cited by Crampa on the Labraunda text); see WELLES, RC pp. 359–60.

l. 25. After προσπορεύεσθαι, *ed.pr.* reports no further traces until N τρόπῳ. SEG proposed μὴδὲ κακουργεῖ]ν; A–S suggest τῶν κελευομένων]ν. We detect more traces of letters, but are unable to determine more words.

l. 26. *Ed.pr.* reads ἀλλ' εἶναι [τοῖς [πε]ρ[ι ... 6/7 ...]ΑΣ; SEG proposes πε]ρ[ι τὰς θυσί]ας. We find the surviving traces at the beginning of the line more compatible with ἀλλ' ἐὰν[.]II[...], which also seems to us to fit better with what we conceive to be the sense of this passage: someone – presumably new settlers or soldiers – is to avoid encroaching on something, and is to leave it or them alone (see historical commentary, p. 35). For ἐὰν in this sense, cf. J. and L. ROBERT, Amyzon no. 13.5 (end of a royal letter, most probably of Antiochus III).

We have been unable to determine any more words in this phrase; but it seems best to punctuate before ἐπιμελές, and take that as the first word of a sentence of command addressed to Anaxarchos, in a very standard formula: ἐπιμελές σοι γενέσθω/γένετο/ἔστω ἵνα/ὅπως and the subjunctive.

ll. 26–27. After ἐπιμελές, *ed.pr.* reported ἸΝ/ΟΥΝΣ[...], and no more, restoring ἵν' οὖν Σ[...]. Since οὖν must be the second word in the sentence, this required ἐπιμελές to be the last word in the preceding phrase. After οὖν, SEG proposed σ[υνοικῶσι φιλικῶς; A–S: σ[ὺν τῇ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίᾳ. After ἐπιμελές we see a space with no letter visible, followed by two very faint uprights. We are inclined to believe that these are not traces of any letter; we can therefore read ἐπιμελές οὖν σοι, followed by a horizontal and then a clear vertical – possibly γέ[νοιτο or γε[νέσθω.

l. 27. In the second part of the line *ed.pr.* reports ...]ΤΩΝΤΕΔΙΚΑΙΩΝ; we are less sure that we can see all these letters, but agree on the restoration. This kind of general instruction that men should receive their rights is not unusual in documents of the classical and hellenistic periods. For a hellenistic example, compare a letter/order of Ptolemy VI, of 163: ἐπι(τη)τήδε[ιο]ν ὑπελάβομεν εἶναι διαστειλασθ[α]ι ὑμῖν προνοεῖσθαι ὅπως τὰ δίκαια γίνηται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; M. T. LINGER, Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées no. 35 (UPZ 111). 5 ff.

l. 28. Before ἀδικῶνται *ed.pr.* reports ἸΕΝΟ[...], and suggests ...]μενο[ι]; SEG proposed εἴ τις[ς] ξένοι; A–S, εἰ συνωκισ[μέν]οι. The spacing after *omicron* suggests a letter broader than *iota*; we therefore prefer to restore *sigma*, and to assume a

phrase such as μηδ' ὕφ' ἐνὸς[ς] or – making better use of the available space – μηδ' ὑπὸ μηδ' ἐνὸς[ς]. For such a formulation, which is quite common, compare e.g. the letter of Ziaelas to the Coans of c. 240: πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιῆσθαι ἵν[α] μηδ' ὕφ' ἐνὸς ἀδικῶνται, RC 25 (Syll.³ 456).43–44; cf. also Syll.³ 346.55.

ll. 28–29. The very general requirement that men should not be unjustly treated is coupled with the specific admonition, that they should not be moved – μετὰγων-ται, the verb already used of moving the shrine of the Soteira in ll. 11, 12, 15 and 16; see historical commentary p. 35.

l. 29. Before τινες we read Ν (with *ed.pr.*), preceded by some traces which we cannot resolve. It is clearly necessary to start a new sentence here; A–S proposed καὶ εἰ τινες, but we prefer καὶ ἐά[γ].

l. 30. At the beginning of the line *ed.pr.* reports ΕΞ, followed by a lacuna of some 8 or 9 letters, and then ΝΥ, before ΕΝ, and proposes ἐξ[ασκεῖν τή]ν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ[ι] χώραν. After ΕΞ we see a definite upright; thereafter the surface is very rough, but, after a space of 5 or 6 letters, we see traces of a circular letter, followed by a triangular shape and then an upright. This suggests a passive or a middle infinitive; and a very probable restoration is ἐξι[διάξουσ]θαι. For the use of this term in documents concerned with the appropriation of land compare e.g. SB 7657 (= 8033) of 165–158: οὐχ ὑπομένει ἐξειδιζόμενος τὰς λοιπὰς (ἀρούρας) [κ]ζ' παρὰ τὸ καθή-κον βιάζόμενος; cf. also P. Hibeh 198.220, and LSJ s. v.

ll. 30–31. At the end of l. 30 *ed.pr.* reports ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣ, and proposes παραδείσ/[ους μισθ]ωτ[ού]ς. J. and L. ROBERT pointed out, however (Bull. Ep. 1967.651), that such a restoration assumed an irregular syllabic division of the word; moreover they suggested that there was no clear trace of the final *sigma* in l. 30. We have found no trace of such a letter; and there can be no real doubt about the restoration proposed by J. and L. ROBERT, παράδει/[ξον], supplying a term found in other hellenistic documents with the sense «assign, convey» (see WELLES, RC p. 352). Compare (from the examples given in Bull. Ep.) Antiochus I, c. 275: σὺ οὖν, ἐπισκεψάμενος εἰ μὴ δέδ[ο]ται ἄλλῳι πρότερον αὐτῇ ἢ Πέτρα, παράδειξον αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ χώραν Ἀριστοδικίδῃ, RC 11 (OGIS 221).14–17; cf., in the same dossier, 12.6–7 and 15 ff.; and the documents of 254/53 concerning the sale of land to Queen Laodike, RC 18 (OGIS 225).24 ff., and cf. 20.19.

l. 31. J. and L. ROBERT punctuated after νήσῳι, in l. 30, to make χώραν the object of παράδειξον. Our restoration of ἐξι[διάξουσ]θαι requires χώραν as its object; we must therefore supply an object for παράδειξον in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 31. Before ἐξεργασάμενοι, *ed.pr.* reports ...]ΩΤ[...], and restores μισθ]ωτ[ού]ς. We see the traces which could be read as *sigma*, but are not convinced that they are significant; we can determine nothing before that. We therefore restore παράδει/[ξον αὐτοῖς γῆν ἥν], which gives exactly the right number of letters to fill the lacuna.

l. 32. Before εἰς, *ed.pr.* reports traces of *sigma* and proposes φυτεύ/[σαντες ἑαυ-τοῖ]ς; SEG suggested φυτεύ/[ωσι τοὺς ἀγροῦ]ς; A–S, φυτεύ/[σαντες ἀμπέλου]ς.

The only trace of a letter follow J. and L. ROBERT. l. 33. Before ἀτέλεια *ed.pr.* proposes [δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀτέλεια; we have followed l. 34. The supplement to for the space. *Ed.pr.* supplies an awkward construction, but we have been unable to. l. 35. At the end of the line τοῖς εἰς [τ]ὴν νήσον. We see traces before the *nu* of 4/5 letters before it. We propose περ] εἰς [τ]ὴν νήσον.

The purpose of this is to be economically viable by the Seleucid empire. The prohibition – if our interpretation of this subsidised economy. ll. 35–36. Restoration here are dealing with an expression read, with *ed.pr.*, Ἀρ]γῶν very faint. *Ed.pr.* supplies ἰάν. The turn of phrase is terminology.

The text here is, however, it is possible that we should. Ikadion has returned to another.

l. 37. *Ed.pr.* supplies μη/[δὲ καρτέρει ἐξάγει] subject, and we have therefore on the assumptions discussed.

At the end of the line we think we can see traces of l. 38. *Ed.pr.* reads ... τ[...]. τ]ῶν. The surface here can have the sense «belonging to the property of the king at Labraunda, cited at l. II.6); it is used of an allusion BC (Syll.³ 976.70 and

the available space – μηδ' common, compare e.g. the τοιείσθαι ἵν[α] μηδ' ὕφ' 46.55.

not be unjustly treated is not to be moved – μετάγων- teira in ll. 11, 12, 15 and

the traces which we can- here; A–S proposed καὶ

ed by a lacuna of some 8 κεῖν τῇ]ν ἐν τῇ νήσω[ι] the surface is very rough, lar letter, followed by a ve or a middle infinitive; use of this term in docu- e.g. SB 7657 (= 8033) of ας) [κ]ζ' παρὰ τὸ καθῆ-

and proposes παραδείσ/ er (Bull. Ep. 1967.651), tion of the word; more- al sigma in 1.30. We have doubt about the restora- ng a term found in other ee WELLES, RC p.352). is I, c. 275: σὺ οὖν, ἐπι- τρα, παράδειξον αὐτὴν S 221).14–17; cf., in the 4/53 concerning the sale cf. 20.19.

make χώραν the object s χώραν as its object; we cuna at the beginning of d restores μισθ]ωτ[ού]ς. t convinced that they are refore restore παράδει/ of letters to fill the lacu-

ses φυτεύ/[σαντες ἑαυ- τεύ/[σαντες ἀμπέλους].

The only trace of a letter which we can see before εἰς is an upright; we therefore follow J. and L. ROBERT in reading φυτεύ/[σαντες ἔξουσιν]γ.

l. 33. Before ἀτέλεια *ed.pr.* reports no trace, and supplies [ἡ ἀσυλία καὶ ἡ] SEG proposes [δὲ αὐτοῖς καί]. We see a faint trace, which might be a crossbar, before ἀτέλεια; we have followed J. and L. ROBERT in supplying [δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ].

l. 34. The supplement to this line appears easy to make, but is unsatisfactorily short for the space. *Ed.pr.* supplied οἱ after πρόγονοι, which helps a little, but makes an awkward construction. At the end of the line, αὐτοῖς[ς] would make good sense; but we have been unable to detect any trace of the final sigma on the stone.

l. 35. At the end of the lacuna *ed.pr.* reports ...]Σ[.]ΙΙΝ νῆσον, and proposes [πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς [τ]ῇν νῆσον. We are not convinced that we can determine any significant traces before the *nu* of τῇν, but there is an outline which might be an *epsilon* some 4/5 letters before it. We have adopted the restoration suggested by SEG, [ῥῶσων- περ] εἰς τῇν νῆσον.

The purpose of this command seems to be to keep the community on Ikaros economically viable by exempting them from taxes payable on supplies exported from the Seleucid empire into the island. This would necessitate the following prohibition – if our interpretation of ll. 35–37 is correct – on the export of goods out of this subsidised economy, perhaps to non-Seleucid territory.

ll. 35–36. Restoration here must be very tentative; but εἰς in l. 35 indicates that we are dealing with an expression of location or direction. It is therefore tempting to read, with *ed.pr.*, Ἀρ]αβίαν in l. 36, although the traces of the surviving *alpha* are very faint. *Ed.pr.* supplies [τὴν ἀντ' αὐτῆς Ἀρ]αβίαν; A–S, [τὴν ἀντικρυς Ἀρ]αβίαν. The turn of phrase which we have proposed is a commonplace in hellenistic terminology.

The text here is, however, so fragmentary that there can be little certainty; and it is possible that we should restore δι[ὰ or κατὰ βίαν; if so, we must assume that Ikadion has returned to the topic of attacks by one group of inhabitants against another.

l. 37. *Ed.pr.* supplies μη/[δὲ καρτέρει ἐπ' ἔξουσίας] ἄλλο μηθὲν; SEG suggested μη/[δὲ καρτέρει ἐξάγεσθαι]. The prohibition seems to us to require a personal object, and we have therefore supplied μη/[δενί. For the rest, our restoration is based on the assumptions discussed above, and is very tentative.

At the end of the line, *ed.pr.* reports E, followed by a space, and restores εἰ; we think we can see traces of the *iota*.

l. 38. *Ed.pr.* reads ... τ]ῶν ἐμβαλλόντων; SEG suggested [μὴ κατὰ πρόσταγμα τ]ῶν. The surface here is very worn; but we read τ]ῶν ἐπιβάλλοντων. Ἐπιβάλλω can have the sense «belong to», and this could be another prohibition against invading the property of others, expressed in similar terms to the letter of Seleucus II at Labraunda, cited at l. 24. But the verb can also mean «fall to, be due to» (LSJ s. v. II.6); it is used of an allotment of corn in the Samian corn-law of the second century BC (Syll.³ 976.70 and 80). If, therefore, this passage is still concerned with the

regulation of supplies to the island, the sense could be «If [there is an interruption of some kind to] the allotted (supplies)».

l. 39. If ll. 37–38 were taken up with a conditional clause, the lacuna in this line must contain the main verb of this sentence, before the subordinate clause introduced by ἵνα. The first legible traces in this line are ...]ΩΛΙΑΙ; and the easiest interpretation seems to be to see this as the end of a word concerned with selling, -π]ωλῖαι. *Ed.pr.* suggests ... τῇ μονοπ]ωλῖαι; we would prefer a nominative plural, with the sense «let there be sales of such-and-such a kind». The most suitable term here would be one for the sale of food; σιτοπωλῖαι is not otherwise attested, but it would give good sense.

l. 40. *Ed.pr.* supplies [εἰς τοὺς εἰρημένους αἰ]τίας. While the passage must remain very uncertain, we are inclined to take ἐμπίπτειν in its well-attested sense of «fall into difficulties» (LSJ s. v. 4.b), those difficulties perhaps being specified by a word such as ἀρρωσ]τίας; such an interpretation would seem to be relevant if we are right in interpreting these lines as concerned with food supplies.

l. 41. *Ed.pr.* restores [λαβεῖν καθ' εὐθύπλ]ουν. We consider it most likely that ΟΥΝ should be read as οὖν, preceded by a word of command, such as σύνταξον; for a similar construction, compare the dossier of c. 200, from Tell el-Fir (cited at note 39), l. 1: σύνταξον ἀναγράψαντας ἐν στήλαις λιθ[ίναις ... τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀναθ]εῖναι ἐν [ταῖς] ὑπαρχούσαις [σοι κώμαις; cf. also Cl.Rh. IX, 190.

Neither σύνταξον, nor any other likely term, is sufficient to fill the lacuna here. We must therefore assume that it was preceded by the last word of the preceding sentence – a word of about 4/6 letters, very probably an adverb, qualifying ἐμπίπτειν.

l. 42. Before ἀναγρ]άψαντας there is room for 4–6 letters. *Ed.pr.* proposes στήλην, but this is an unparalleled construction; an alternative possibility is ταύτην, perhaps reflected in the terms of Anaxarchos' letter (see above, on l. 4).

l. 43. The bad condition of the stone is particularly frustrating at this point, since this line apparently contains the year date, which is lost in l. 6; it is followed by the day of the month, 17 Artemision, ten days earlier than the date of Anaxarchos' covering note (l. 6). This indicates that no great distance separates Ikadion and Anaxarchos; compare the time-lags in the publication of the decrees honouring Laodike (L. ROBERT, *Hell.* VII, 15–17).

After the lacuna, *ed.pr.* reports traces of a triangular letter, followed by a circular letter and then a square corner, proposing a sentence ending in A, followed by a date, ΟΓ'. A-S proposed ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ/ [Σωτήρος ἡ θεοῦ ἄλ]λου, which is too long. J. and L. ROBERT (*Bull.Ep.* 1967.651) suggested that, while the most probable restoration would be a year date, in the Seleucid style – that is, with the lower numbers first – an alternative possibility might be ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ/ [τῆς Ἀρτέμι]δος, which would fit the lacuna. The construction which we are assuming, however, requires a verb for setting up the inscription – ἀναθεῖναι (the standard term) or ἐκθεῖναι (the less common term, used by Anaxarchos in l. 5) – in the first part

of this line, where there is a triangular letter (which is certain). After a circular letter is more likely than a square corner, it is uncertain, but can be identified (from the photograph) as rho, ρ. This would give the date 109 of the Seleucid era. The implications, see historical notes. The letter can be determined as rho, ρ, the upper part of a triangular letter, the theta to be a separate letter. It is prudent to assume a bracketed rho, ρ, the date.

Historical commentary

The two documents recorded here, Ikadion, to his subordinate Anaxarchos, and the inhabitants of Ikaros, to the inhabitants of the island of Ikaros, year 109 of the Seleucid era, are the first to be identified as Antiochian (see above, p. 18).

The king's policy for his *progonoi*, and is explained in the plans for the religious and dynastic loyalty combined. Seleucid public relations term *progonoi* was used by Antiochus I, to refer to the «ancestors» of the king, unfortunately not possible for the sanctuary on Ikaros. Antiochus I, energetic king on the throne, what is known of Antiochus I.

The position of Ikadion is specified. He is apparent

⁴⁵ Compare the letter of Antiochus III following the motive, RC 32 (*Ins.Magn.* 1967.651) with regard to his *progonoi* with regard to the decree of 29–159 at 34, ll.14–15: decree of J. and L. ROBERT, *Ant.*

there is an interruption

the lacuna in this line
subordinate clause intro-
IAI; and the easiest in-
concerned with selling,
refer a nominative plu-
ind». The most suitable
not otherwise attested,

the passage must remain
all-attested sense of «fall
ing specified by a word
to be relevant if we are
plies.

it most likely that OYN
such as σύνταξον; for a
ell el-Firr (cited at note
. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀνα-
IX, 190.

at to fill the lacuna here.
word of the preceding
verb, qualifying ἐμπίπ-

Ed.pr. proposes στήλην,
possibility is ταύτην, per-
e, on l. 4).

ating at this point, since
l. 6; it is followed by the
he date of Anaxarchos'
separates Ikadion and
the decrees honouring

r, followed by a circular
ing in A, followed by a
]λου, which is too long.

the most probable res-
is, with the lower num-
πωι/ [τῆς Ἀρτέμι]δος,
assuming, however, re-
(the standard term) or
l. 5) – in the first part

of this line, where there is space for some 9–11 letters before the circular letter (which is certain). After puzzling over the traces, we have concluded that the circular letter is more likely to be a *theta*, with a dot, than an *omicron*. The letter after it is uncertain, but can convincingly be read on the stone and squeeze (less so on the photograph) as *rho*, a letter which varies in size and shape in this document. This would give the date 99', 109, of the Seleucid era – that is, 203/2 BC.; for the implications, see historical commentary. What we are less sure of is whether any letter can be determined before the numerals. We do see (with *ed.pr.*) what could be the upper part of a triangular letter; but it appears to us to be too close to the *theta* to be a separate letter. The surface is extremely pitted, and we feel it most prudent to assume a brief *vacat* here between the last word of the sentence and the date.

Historical commentary

The two documents recorded on this *stèle* are a letter from a Seleucid official, Ikadion, to his subordinate, Anaxarchos, and a covering letter from Anaxarchos to the inhabitants of Ikaros. Ikadion's letter sets out the policy of a Seleucid king for the inhabitants of the island. Our reading of line 43 gives the date as Artemision in year 109 of the Seleucid era – that is, April/May of 203 BC. The king must therefore be identified as Antiochus III (222–187). This dating is supported by the lettering (see above, p. 18) and is entirely consistent with the content of the documents.

The king's policy for Ikaros (l. 9) is justified in terms of his adhesion to that of his *progonoi*, and is explained solely in terms of their intervention in, patronage of and plans for the religious life of the island (ll. 9–11, cf. 19–20, 33–34). This theme of dynastic loyalty combined with royal piety and religious patronage is typical of Seleucid public relations, and is particularly well attested of Antiochus III.⁴⁵ The term *progonoi* was used already in the time of the second Seleucid king, Antiochus I, to refer to the «ancestors» of the ruling house (OGIS 222.18; cf. n. 45). It is unfortunately not possible to identify the reign (or reigns) in which the royal plans for the sanctuary on Ikaros had not been implemented. Now, however, there is an energetic king on the throne pressing his officials to action, a scenario fitting well what is known of Antiochus III as a historical figure.

The position of Ikadion in the Seleucid bureaucracy and administration is not specified. He is apparently a high-ranking Seleucid official belonging to the rather

⁴⁵ Compare the letter of Seleucus II to Miletus (OGIS 227; RC 22; Ins. Didyma 493); for Antiochus III following the policy of his *progonoi* see e.g. WELLES, RC 42; and for piety as a motive, RC 32 (Ins. Magn. 19; OGIS 232): Antiochus, son of Antiochus III, abiding by his father's policy and referring to his piety; RC 44 (OGIS 244 25 ff.): *eusebeia* of Antiochus III and of his *progonoi* with regard to the cults at Syrian Daphne; P. HERRMANN, *Anadolu 9* (1965) 29–159 at 34, ll. 14–15: decree of Teos honouring Antiochus III. See also the valuable discussion of J. and L. ROBERT, *Amyzon* 140, 180–181.

vague category οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένοι (ll. 11–12), «those in charge of affairs», and so at the head of some section of the Seleucid administration. This formula is not used in Seleucid terminology to describe any one specific position. One department of Seleucid bureaucratic administration which would be involved in the issues discussed here is that of the *διοικηταί* and their subordinates (the *οἰκονομοί*) whose direct responsibility to the king, and independence of the governor has recently been illuminated, in the case of Seleucid Palestine, by the Seleucid dossier from Tell el-Fir. ⁴⁶ As important officials regionally deployed, in direct communication with the king, and as officials responsible for «economic» matters (including supplies as well as fiscal administration) they would have been concerned in the administration of Ikaros, especially with regard to taxation. ⁴⁷ Since, however, the *διοικηταί* are referred to in documents by their title, instead of the formula used here, ⁴⁸ it seems unlikely that Ikadion should be identified as one.

This formula is used of Zeuxis as viceroy of Antiochus III in Asia Minor, ⁴⁹ as well as being applied collectively to royal officials who are responsible to the king for affairs in the satrapies. ⁵⁰ Ikadion is therefore very likely to have been the governor of the satrapy to which Ikaros was attached. Which one that was is at present unknown. The most likely is perhaps Babylonia, more specifically the satrapy of «The Districts of the Red Sea» after its creation (by 222 BC; see above, p. 8 and n. 16). Less likely, but possible, is the satrapy of Susiana. ⁵¹ JEPPESEN was inclined to identify Ikadion with the homonym named by Jerome (comm. in Dan. XI.6) as a supporter of Laodike and her son Seleucus II in the dynastic struggle of c. 246 against Berenice, the second wife of Antiochus II, after the death of the latter; ⁵² our dating for this text must rule that out.

Anaxarchos, as a subordinate of Ikadion, is identifiable as a Seleucid official in charge of one of the regional subdivisions into which the Seleucid satrapies were

⁴⁶ Cf. n. 39 and J. M. BERTRAND, ZPE 46, 1982, 167–174. See also J. E. TAYLOR, Seleucid Rule in Palestine (University Microfilms International, Michigan 1983) 108–168, esp. 147 ff.

⁴⁷ For recent discussion of the functions of the Seleucid *διοικητες* see TAYLOR, *o. c.* 150–152.

⁴⁸ Cf. e.g. LANDAU (*o. c.* above, n. 39), at 58–59, ll. 4, 22; J. and L. ROBERT, La Carie II (Paris 1954) 280 no. 166, l. 7 (Apollonia in Caria; probably from the reign of Antiochus III); G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, ASAA 45/46 (1967/68) 445–453 no. 2, 15–26 (letter of Laodice, wife of Antiochus III, to Iasos) with J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. Ep. 1971 no. 621 at 502–510.

⁴⁹ On Zeuxis' position see BENGTON, Die Strategie II, 90 ff., 115 ff., and J. and L. ROBERT, Amyzon 176–187.

⁵⁰ Cf., *exempli gratia*, Antiochus III, who wrote from Antioch-Persis, RC 31 (OGIS 231; c. 205 BC). 25 ff.: καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένοις, ὅπως καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἀκολούθως ἀποδέξωνται: Trans.: «to those in charge of affairs in order that the *poleis* accept accordingly» (the invitation to the new panhellenic *agon* for Artemis Leucophryene at Magnesia-Maeander).

⁵¹ Cf. JEPPESEN, Kuml 1960, 196. As JEPPESEN noted, Anaxarchos wrote 10 days later than Ikadion, and 10 days is a reasonable time for the journey from Susa to the Gulf.

⁵² *l. c.* 197.

subdivided. ⁵³ The context suggests a resident at Ikaros – for c.

A noteworthy feature of the text (l. 15) to denote to whom the action that had been taken by the person singular to give orders is possible that this usage should be used by the Seleucid king where Seleucid governors which they are passing on authority which that official the section responsible for

The two documents concern the status and character of the community emerges from the island through his of king's, as is implicit in his

Whatever type of social organisation as a *polis*. The latter the form of address Anaxarchos simply to the inhabitants or some other representative *tai* do not possess the hierarchy could be addressed (cf. the constraints of the settlement was not built as one of the for any administrative organisation on the island.

We know that the presence of Anaxarchos, Anabasis 7.20.3–4), and the settlement for the hellenistic

⁵³ See BENGTON, *o. c.* 120, and JNES 42 (1983) 268.

⁵⁴ Cf. e.g. Labraunda II, Antiochus III, and probably from the reign of Antiochus III, from Kuzuyaka, ancient Kilikia, of the Seleucid satrap Meander. Hellenica VII (Paris, 1949) 100, same edict from Laodicea/100.

⁵⁵ Cf. JEPPESEN, «A hellenistic settlement», Huitième Congrès International d'Épigraphie, 1960, 197.

⁵⁶ *Pace* the remarks of G.

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subdivided.⁵³ The content of the documents makes it appear unlikely that he was resident at Ikaros – for example as Seleucid governor (*epistates*) of the island.

A noteworthy feature of the text is Ikadion's use of the plural pronoun ἡμῖν (l. 15) to denote to whom the king had written. The usage is paralleled by Anaxarchus in l. 2. Ikadion also uses the plural forms for the verbs (ll. 16–17) describing the action that had been taken. In contrast, he uses the imperative in the second person singular to give orders to Anaxarchus (l. 36, cf. 26–27, 30–31). It seems possible that this usage should be understood as analogous to the royal «we» regularly used by the Seleucid kings in correspondence. There are several other instances where Seleucid governors use «we» when referring to the king's orders to them which they are passing on.⁵⁴ In these cases «we» perhaps stands collectively for the authority which that official and his group of subordinates represent in the state as the section responsible for carrying out the king's policy.

The two documents contained in text 3 illuminate only indirectly the question of the status and character of the settlements on Ikaros. The subordinate character of the community emerges first in the fact that the king communicates his orders for the island through his officials. The people are subject, and the land (*chora*) is the king's, as is implicit in his orders for its distribution (ll. 29 ff.; i. e., *chora basilike*).

Whatever type of social organisation the inhabitants belong to, they are not organised as a *polis*. The lack of civic structure emerges in several ways: firstly from the form of address Anaxarchus employs in his covering note, which is directed simply to the inhabitants collectively (l. 1) instead of to a board of magistrates and/or some other representative body such as a *boule* or assembly. Secondly, the *oike-tai* do not possess the hall-mark of a Greek *polis* – a city ethnic by which they could be addressed (cf. also text 2 and commentary). Thirdly, the physical constraints of the settlement F 5, at c. sixty metres square⁵⁵ demonstrate that the place was not built as one of the new Seleucid *poleis*.⁵⁶ There is, therefore, no evidence for any administrative organisation on Ikaros other than that of the cult (or cults) on the island.

We know that the pre-Greek community was centred round a sanctuary (Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.20.3–4), and the physical remains of F 5 suggest a similar arrangement for the hellenistic site. Furthermore, the only local officials to be mentioned

⁵³ See BENGTON, *o. c.* 12 ff.; on Babylonian regional subdivisions see S. M. SHERWIN-WHITE, *JNES* 42 (1983) 268.

⁵⁴ Cf. e.g. Labraunda III.2, 61 no. 46, l. 3: an order, probably from the reign of Antiochus III, and probably from Zeuxis; J. and L. ROBERT, *Amyzon*, 186, ll. 7–8: ? letter of Zeuxis from Kuzyaka, ancient Kildara; L. ROBERT, *CRAI* 1967, 281–297, at 289, l. 24: covering note of the Seleucid ?satrap Menedemos to an edict, from Kermanshah, 193 BC; cf. L. ROBERT, *Hellenica VII* (Paris, 1949) 5–29, at 7, l. 3: covering note of Menedemos with a copy of the same edict from Laodicea/Nehavend.

⁵⁵ Cf. JEPPESEN, «A hellenistic fortress on the island of Ikaros (Failaka) in the Persian Gulf», *Huitième Congrès International d'Archéologie classique Paris 1963* (1965), 542.

⁵⁶ Pace the remarks of G. COHEN (*o. c.* above, n. 26) 44.

in text 3 (and in the plural) are the *neokoroi* (l. 21), «temple-wardens», who, on the analogy of the famous sanctuaries of Artemis at Sardis and Ephesus, as well as that at Amyzon, were important administrators responsible for temple administration as well as for the organisation of the cults in their care. They tend to be prominent where a sanctuary functioned as the centre of the life of a place;⁵⁷ and this very probably continued to be the case in the hellenistic period on Ikaros.

The question of the original location of the *hieron* which was moved (ll. 10–16) – presumably to F 5 – remains unclear. Certainly Alexander's explorers learned of a sanctuary and cult of a goddess («Artemis») on Ikaros in the pre-Greek period. But was this, or the cult of *Soter* (l. 22) localised at the Achaemenid site at Tell Khazneh, or yet somewhere else? One of the motives behind the move is likely to have been protection; F 5 was fortified, if inadequately,⁵⁸ by a circumference wall of mud-brick resting upon a base of irregular blocks of rock.⁵⁹ The unplanned and irregular disposition of the houses filling the area around the two temples⁶⁰ suggests that the site functioned as a fortified settlement rather than as one of the «true forts» characteristic of the hellenistic period, which were designed with regularly laid out barracks to serve primarily as a military base for troops.⁶¹ Temple A was oriented exactly on the east-west axis of the «square»,⁶² evidently as an original part of the plan. The main objective would appear to have been to provide fortified protection for a (new) sanctuary, and room for a community to dwell around it.

The Seleucid kings' policy of support for the religions – Greek and non-Greek – of the peoples within their empire is becoming ever more fully documented.⁶³ Their positive action provides the historical background for an assessment of the cult patronage of text 3. There are, however, serious impediments to a more detailed account, even beyond the uncertain state of much of this text. While it seems likely that the *hieron* of the *Soteira* was moved to Temple A, since the inscription stood in front of it, it does not necessarily follow that the temple had been built to

⁵⁷ Cf. J. and L. ROBERT, Amyzon, 110, 116, cf. 191 (with special reference to Amyzon).

⁵⁸ Cf. A. W. LAWRENCE, Greek Aims in Fortification (Oxford 1979) 179, who describes the site F 5 as the «weakest true fort yet discovered».

⁵⁹ For description of the fortifications and site see JEPPESEN, *l.c.* above, n. 55, and Kuml 1960, 187; Lawrence, *o.c.* 179, 452 n. 2; L. HANNESTAD, «Danish Archaeological Excavations on Failaka» in *Arabie Orientale Mésopotamie et Iran Méridional*, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Mémoire 37, Paris 1984, pp. 59–66, at p. 59.

⁶⁰ JEPPESEN, Kuml 1960, 187.

⁶¹ On these see LAWRENCE, *o.c.* 176 ff.

⁶² JEPPESEN (*l.c.* n. 55) 542.

⁶³ For a conspectus of the new evidence with regard to Antiochus III see J. and L. ROBERT, Amyzon, 140; see also nn. 45, 54 above. On Seleucid patronage of Babylonian cults see A. K. GRAYSON, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies 3 (Toronto 1975) 19–20, n. 29; IDEM, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, TCS 5 (Locust Valley, New York, 1975) 278 n. 2.

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accommodate the cult of the *Soteira*. It is entirely possible that the moved cult simply shared – in keeping with Greek practice – a temple with other deities, the goddess becoming *synnaos*.⁶⁴ This may be suggested by text 2, from the area of Temple A, apparently dedicated «to the gods»; and, although ll. 22 ff. of text 3 cannot be adequately restored, it appears that Ikadion is concerned with another cult, of *Soter*, as well as that of *Soteira* (l. 10). It seems reasonable to equate the *Soteira* with the cult of «Artemis» mentioned by Arrian, and the Artemis *Soteira* of text 1; the *Soter* might be the Zeus *Soter* also invoked in text 1.

The cult – or cults – of Temple A (and B) were housed in a structure that is recognisably Greek in plan, architecture and decoration. At least one Iranian feature reflects the building tradition of the larger region;⁶⁵ but the moved cult's new home, probably unlike the old, was basically Greek in physical appearance. The establishment of an *agon*, probably accompanied by cultural competitions as well as athletics, was an integral part of the royal policy with regard to the sanctuary (ll. 16 ff.) and was therefore perhaps partially intended to celebrate – in normal Greek fashion – the re-organisation. The Seleucid kings' promotion – indeed imposition – of specifically Greek cultural traditions to create a recognisably Greek style of life for the Greek and hellenised inhabitants of their empire to share in is beautifully encapsulated in this image of a Greek *agon* celebrated on a small island off the Fertile Crescent, in the inner Arabian Gulf. The reaction of the inhabitants to a decision in which, it appears from text 3, they had no say is not recorded, at least explicitly. It is unlikely to have been all favourable (see below).

The ethnic composition of the population of Ikaros and of the Seleucid settlement(s) is potentially of considerable importance for the general understanding of Seleucid colonising policies. The occupation of the island in the Achaemenid period is documented by literary sources, but has not yet been much illuminated by archaeological exploration of the island.⁶⁶ It is to be hoped that excavation will in time reveal more about the size and material character of the sanctuary-centred settlement which Alexander's explorers described, and which passed not long afterwards into Seleucid control. The presence of a non-Greek element on hellenistic Ikaros also is reflected in the material finds from the hellenistic sites, being inferable from the presence of artefacts of traditional Mesopotamian style (as well as objects imported from Mesopotamia and perhaps from Susiana),⁶⁷ from a non-

⁶⁴ On this phenomenon see A. D. Nock, HSCP 41 (1930) 1–62, reprinted in his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* I, ed. Z. STEWART (Oxford 1972) 202 ff.

⁶⁵ See JEPPESEN, *l. c.* (n. 55) for the bell-shaped column bases of Persian design (pl. 136.1). See also M. COLLEDGE, *Parthian Art* (London 1977) 24, 67 (use of mud-brick in the fortifications); L. HANNESTAD, *o. c.* (n. 59) p. 61, on building techniques.

⁶⁶ See n. 2.

⁶⁷ See MATHIESEN (*o. c.* n. 22) 15–16, 17 ff. (Catalogue, Part I, Oriental Types, nos. 1–70), 39 ff. (Catalogue, Part 2, Greek Types, nos. 71–108); HANNESTAD (*o. c.* n. 22) esp. 11, 79, 103–104.

Greek (perhaps North Arabian or Aramaic) graffito,⁶⁸ and perhaps too from the relative rarity of Greek objects at the settlement F 5 and at the new French site.⁶⁹ The presence of Greeks is indicated above all by the inscriptions nos. 1 and 2. If the interpretation of text 1 is correct, the Seleucid settlement will have begun under the protection of a Seleucid garrison. Since the Seleucids drew upon non-Greek peoples within the empire as well as on Greeks for their colonial settlements, any colonists sent to Ikaros are likely to have included non-Greeks too, hellenised to varying degrees; cf. for example the Greek and Iranian military garrison at Magnesia -Sipylos,⁷⁰ and Antiochus III's dispatch of Jews from Babylonia as colonists to Asia Minor.⁷¹

Text 3 should not automatically be regarded as evidence for the hellenised (let alone hellenic) character of the inhabitants as a whole. Firstly, there is a danger in arguing from government documents put up for public display to either the public's knowledge of the language in which they were written, or to their literacy. «Government's ideas on what ought to be readable do not necessarily coincide with what the subjects can actually read».⁷² Secondly, there is the question of the function behind the publication of Ikadion's letter – that is, the audiences for which public exhibition of the documents was intended. Ikadion's letter informed his Greek subordinate both of the implementation of (and reasons for) the king's plans regarding Ikaros, and passed on royal orders concerning the treatment, taxation and property rights of the inhabitants which it was Anaxarchos' responsibility to implement. One function of publication was to provide proof, not so much to the local audience, but to *Seleucid personnel* of rights that they are to respect (e.g. to the *dioiketes* and *oikonomos* responsible for fiscal administration in the case of the taxation immunity and land grants, and to the Seleucid soldiers, or colonists, guilty of roughing up the inhabitants [ll. 24 ff.; see below], quite apart from Anaxarchos' own successors in office). This function of publication is well illustrated by another Seleucid document: the dossier of texts concerning the legal rights and *ateleia* from billeting of the villages near Scythopolis belonging to Ptolemy, Seleucid governor of Coele Syria and Phoenicia (see n. 39). In response to a request for action the king (Antiochus III) ordered Ptolemy to have the documents inscribed and placed on public display in his villages (as cited in the commentary on l. 41, above). It is obvious from the dossier that the purpose was not to provide a *stèle* for Ptolemy and the villagers to read, but to provide evidence for the numerous Seleucid authorities in the region, who were Greeks and Macedonians (the *dioiketai*

with subordinate *oikonomoi* by in the future. One of the settlements was as a channel of Seleucid administration. The officials are mainly Greek. This fact is not surprising in view of the Seleucid kinship with Egypt.⁷⁴

Lines 20–40 deal with the settlement, which is not easy because of the poor and tentative appraisal of what is being said. The text of ll. 20–26 is unclear. The rights of the (local) inhabitants (ἐάν ...) belonging to the king seems to be this group of people, ensuring that they attain to the removal (expropriation, etc.) of this 'group' (τοῦτων) in the region appear to be the *περί* group (chōra) with hereditary rights to want to farm it. The colonists, lessee cultivating the land (with hereditary tenure) seem to be in this period, also being sent for the settlement of Babylonia.

Two main points emerge from the ways prohibited in the text against similar mistreatment of the Syrian Amyzon, at the same time Scythopolis) which points to (ll. 29–32) is the cultivation of the land: a) the policy of making

⁶⁸ SALLES, *l.c.* n. 23, reported a non-Greek graffito, possibly Aramaic or North Arabian, inscribed on an altar.

⁶⁹ SALLES, *ib.*, and HANNESTAD, *o.c.* (n. 22) 104.

⁷⁰ OGIS 229, esp. 100 ff.

⁷¹ Josephus, AJ 12.149

⁷² D. M. LEWIS, JThS 19 (1969) 583–588 at 587 (review of J. N. SEVENTSER, Do you know Greek? How much Greek could the first Jewish Christians have known?)

⁷³ LANDAU, *o.c.* n. 39, 51.

⁷⁴ Cf. the prophetic remembrance of Egypt.

⁷⁵ Compare the Seleucid policy of curbing at the king's order (Antiochus III.2, 61–63 no. 46, with Babylonian).

⁷⁶ COHEN, *o.c.* n. 26, 68.

⁷⁷ Josephus, AJ 12.151, where the Jews are attested in text 3.

⁷⁸ Cf. the inscriptions of the Seleucids.

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response to a request for
e documents inscribed
e commentary on l. 41,
ot to provide a *stele* for
or the numerous Seleu-
edonians (the *dioiketai*

ramaic or North Arabian,

SEVENTSER, Do you know
own?)

with subordinate *oikonomoi* and the military commanders in the district)⁷³ to abide by in the future. One very important function of the publication of these documents was as a channel of communication between different branches of the Seleucid administration. The intercourse is within the government, at a level where officials are mainly Greek speaking, not between the government and its subjects. This fact is not surprising, since it is becoming increasingly clear that the bureaucracy of the Seleucid kingdom was as complex and developed as that of Ptolemaic Egypt.⁷⁴

Lines 20–40 deal with the present situation on Ikaros. Reconstruction is not easy because of the poorly preserved state of the inscription. The following is a tentative appraisal of what seems to be going on. Although the exact supplementing of ll. 20–26 is uncertain, it appears that Ikadion is concerned to protect the rights of the (local) inhabitants (cf. μή προσπορεύεσθαι ... τρόπωι μηδενὶ ἄλλ' ἔαν ...) belonging to the population settled on the island (συννοικισθῆναι). It seems to be this group which is to be protected (l. 25, end – l. 29, beginning) by ensuring that they attain their 'rights', and by their protection against injustice or removal (expropriation, expulsion, or even being carried off as slaves).⁷⁵ Members of this 'group' (τούτων in l. 29, i.e. presumably the *anthropoi* of l. 28, who would appear to be the περί group of l. 20) are to be granted an allotment of island land (*chora*) with hereditary leasehold – as attested in other Seleucid colonies – if they want to farm it. The condition, which is characteristic of emphyteutic leases, of the lessee cultivating the land, is made explicit.⁷⁶ This requirement (and probably the hereditary tenure) seems to have applied generally to Seleucid colonial allotments in this period, also being used, for example, by Antiochus III in his arrangement for the settlement of Babylonian colonists in Phrygia.⁷⁷

Two main points emerge. Firstly, a section of people on Ikaros have suffered in the ways prohibited in ll. 24–26, and 26–28. There are several Seleucid rulings against similar mistreatment of local populations (e.g. by Seleucid soldiers at Carian Amyzon, at the sanctuary of Labraunda, and in the villages of Ptolemy near Scythopolis) which point to a similar situation on Ikaros.⁷⁸ The second issue (ll. 29–32) is the cultivation of the island *chora*. Two main interpretations are possible: a) the policy of making land grants and leaseholds to the local population has

⁷³ LANDAU, *o. c.* n. 39, 58–59, ll. 1–3, 12 ff.

⁷⁴ Cf. the prophetic remark of WELLES, RC p. 102; see TAYLOR, *o. c.* n. 46, 147 ff., 170–171.

⁷⁵ Compare the Seleucid edict (probably of the reign of Antiochus III and from Zeuxis) curbing at the king's order the misbehaviour of the army at Labraunda: CRAMPA, Labraunda III.2, 61–63 no. 46, with Bull. Ep. 1970.553; Amyzon 138–142, no. 10 (Antiochus III at Amyzon).

⁷⁶ COHEN, *o. c.* n. 26, 68–69.

⁷⁷ Josephus, AJ 12.151, compared by COHEN *l. c.*, with the condition of land tenure on Ikaros attested in text 3.

⁷⁸ Cf. the inscriptions cited in n. 75.

be put fully into opera-
between Seleucid colo-
whose livelihood, apart
from any trade that the
ated. Or, b), the plan to
y, or – if «ancestral» – is
o way to decide between

worth noting the contrast
cultivated Telos and Ika-
o, but possibly – in con-
was little or no cultiva-
and is cultivable, being
y some whim of geolo-
surface, and catches the
BIBBY also noted reports
It is possible that an in-
and's delicately balanced
in encouraging the culti-
g for a larger population.
ne population – might be
ne light of other Seleucid
n the move of the sanctu-
is could be new colonists
Seleucid hold on Ikaros,
h the military operations
C.

s of the settlement is the
affirmation of immunity
nit) of the *ateleia* is made
island. This is most likely
ids on the movement of
which are attested both as
the kingdom.⁸² We know

s see Anabasis 7.20.6, and

16.

3–74.

ing in the Seleucid empire by
ent to the Jewish *ethnos* of tax
mple at Jerusalem: Josephus,

from the coins of Seleucia-Tigris and from artefacts found at F 5 that the inhabit-
ants had contact with Babylonia and the cities there;⁸³ they would have had to im-
port many basic materials and supplies. The grant of *ateleia*, which would have fa-
cilitated this, was also perhaps intended to reinforce by economic inducements
attachment to the Seleucids.

Line 33 shows that the *ateleia* should not be regarded as a new privilege, de-
signed to meet new circumstances, but as one granted in the past, perhaps at the
beginning of Seleucid rule on Ikaros. There was apparently no time limit on the
immunity such as is often attested in grants of *ateleia*, especially in the case of royal
attempts to revive a place after war,⁸⁴ or establish or restore a colony.⁸⁵ There is no
reason, however, to conceive of the island as a tax-haven! The islanders are likely
to have been subject to other Seleucid crown taxes⁸⁶ since there is no reference to
grants of immunity from them. And those who became cleruchs of royal land, un-
der the terms of ll. 29–32, became liable to a set of regular taxes.⁸⁷ The ban in the
last lines (ll. 35 ff.) and its precise objective (l. 39) is too fragmentary for anything to
be reconstructed securely; but it is possible that the effective «subsidy» of imports to
Ikaros entailed a ban on their re-export from the island – see the tentative restora-
tion of ll. 35–37, with the commentary.

Ikadion's letter seems clearly to attest a reorganisation of the Seleucid settle-
ment on Ikaros on the king's initiative, although essential details remain proble-
matic. What is also of interest is that there was no physical segregation of the pop-
ulation in the settlement F 5, as the archaeological discoveries importantly
demonstrate.⁸⁸ The mingled cultural traditions of this comparatively small helle-

⁸³ See O. MØRKHOLM, *Kuml* 1960, 199–207; *Kuml* 1972, 183–203; *Kuml* 1979, 219–236.

⁸⁴ See, e.g., Antiochus III's grant of a three year general tax exemption to the population of Jerusalem (Josephus, *AJ* 12.143) and his grant of a seven year tax immunity to Sardis (BUCKLER and ROBINSON, *Sardis VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions* [Leiden 1932] 2; on the date see L. ROBERT, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes* [Paris 1964] 19–21); cf. also M. HOLLEAUX, *Études d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Grecques II* (Paris 1938) 73–125 at 74–75, ll. 21–24: an Attalid grant of a five year tax exemption to an Attalid city, possibly Apollonia Rhyndacus.

⁸⁵ See e.g. Antiochus III's grant of a ten year *ateleia* on produce of the land to Jewish colo-
nists sent from Babylonia to settle in Phrygia (*AJ* 12.151) and Eumenes II's grant of tax ex-
emptions of two and three years for old and new colonists at «the village of the Cardakes» near
Lycian Telmessus: SEGRE, *Cl. Rhod.* 9 (1938) 190, cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. Ep.* 1980 no. 484
at 455–458. See COHEN (*o. c.* n. 26) 63–64.

⁸⁶ See BICKERMAN, *Institutions Séleucides*, 106 ff.; TAYLOR, *o. c.* n. 46, 84 ff.

⁸⁷ See the inscriptions cited in n. 85; and, on the taxation both of *laoi* cultivating royal land
and of Seleucid colonists see BICKERMAN, *o. c.* 178–185 (cf. also WALBANK, *The Hellenistic
World* [Fontana 1982] 126 ff. on the taxation of the *laoi*).

⁸⁸ Cf., on the Seleucid levels at Susa, where excavations revealed in one area the Greek-
Macedonian element apparently living side by side with non-Greeks, R. GHIRSHMAN, *Persian
Art. The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties 249 BC – AD 631* (New York/London 1962) 102;
IDEM, *Archeologia* 22, 1968, 53–59 at 59.

This discovery provides the relationship between as one of juxtaposition to the settlements of function and place com- also that royal policy in rights of inhabitants. It is ll. 26 ff. not to have coin- leucid authorities do at- y is to enhance the Greek a characteristically Greek of 'Greek' temples. The nation and the execution modes which he encour-

plementation of ances- in the guise of traditional- st a Seleucid presence at gitimately be linked with ted 288/7 BC)⁹² of large mon and costum – that is, the precious trade in in- r with Indian trade arriv- rha.⁹³ Such hints as these was to enhance Seleucid to the valuable spice and aced back as far as Seleu-

claimed a blood connec-

9; cf. also the works cited in

(323–146 av. J.-C.) II (Paris

Hellenistic Culture; Fusion

ER, Ist. Mitt. 4 (1971) 70. Cf. d 1969) 85, misdating OGIS

t, Cambridge 1952) 240. Cf. lations of Seleucus I with the 'everlasting peace and free- t of Seleucus I.

tion with Alexander (and the Macedonian kings) as a Heraclid, and that therefore the Seleucid *progonoi* included Alexander and the Argead dynasty.⁹⁵ The possibility arises that the ancestral policy resuscitated by the dynamic Antiochus III embraced nothing less than Alexander's plans to conquer and colonise the Arabian powers of the west coast of the Gulf, and thereby to win control of the spice and incense trade. This was perhaps the blueprint inspiring Antiochus' coercion of the Gerrhaeans, and his visit to Telos (Bahrein), in 205,⁹⁶ two important intermediaries in the hellenistic trade with the Indus Valley, and with South Arabia. The control of Ikaros, which Alexander had personally named, remained an integral element in the realisation of this policy. In the spring – 203 – of the second year after Antiochus' lucrative settlement with the Gerrhaeans his regulation of affairs on Ikaros was at last implemented. The date links text 3 with the Seleucid policy of expansion in the inner Arabian Gulf which the king had taken up.

⁹⁵ Cf. ROSTOVITZ, JHS 55 (1935) 56–66 at 63–65, relying *in primis* on Libanius (XI.91) who refers to Seleucus' kinship with the Heraclids (ancestors of the Argeads) as a Temenid. See P. GOUKOWSKY, *Essai sur les origines du mythe d'Alexandre*, I (Nancy 1978) 125–131 for the evidence of Seleucus' conscious use of the 'myth' of Alexander in his struggle for power and empire. GOUKOWSKY is mistaken in his statement (citing ROSTOVITZ, *o. c.*) that Alexander was not included among the Seleucid *progonoi*. ROSTOVITZ's argument was precisely the opposite. He believed that Alexander was included among the *progonoi* of the early Seleucids (cf. above); he thought that at some point, perhaps with the organisation of the centralised dynastic cult which he (rightly) attributed to Antiochus III, Alexander was excluded. His 'evidence' for this supposed change was the (incomplete) list of priesthoods of royal cults of the Seleucid kings from Seleucia-Pieria, Samaria, and Seleucia-Tigris, in which Alexander does not feature. However, as BICKERMAN, *Institutions Séleucides* 236–246 and 256, subsequently pointed out, these are municipal cults, unrelated to the centralised dynastic cult of the Seleucid empire instituted by Antiochus III. GOUKOWSKY's remark, *o. c.* 131, on the absence of figurines of Alexander in the Seleucid empire has to be modified in light of the publication (*inter alia*) of the Ikaros terracottas; see also the fine ivory makhaira sheath decorated with Alexander wearing a lion-scalp head-dress: B. A. LITVINSKIY and I. R. PICHKIYAN, 'The Temple of the Oxus', JRAS 1981, 133–167, at 144, plate VIII.

⁹⁶ Polybius 13.9; W. W. TARN, JEA 15 (1929), 22 (conquest); O. MØRKHOLM, *Kuml* 1960, 206–207; LE RIDER, *Suse* 304, rightly seeing Antiochus III's expedition as having wider aims than the show of force and piracy favoured by BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Séleucides* I (Paris 1913) 166 (cited by LE RIDER, *l. c.*) and ROSTOVITZ, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*² I (1953) 458.